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ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

DÜRER

REMBRANDT

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge

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1877.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ALBERT DÜRER.

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DÜRER

PREFACE.

THIS little volume presents an account of the life of one of the noblest and most versatile artists of Germany, with a passing glance at the activities of Northern Europe at the era of the Reformation. The weird and wonderful paintings of Dürer are herein concisely described, as well as the most famous and characteristic of his engravings and carvings; and his quaint literary works are enumerated. It has also been thought advisable to devote considerable space to details about Nuremberg, the scene of the artist's greatest labors; and to reproduce numerous extracts from his fascinating Venetian letters and Lowland journals.

The modern theory as to Dürer's wife and his home has been accepted in this work, after a long and careful examination of the arguments on both sides. It is pleasant thus to be able to aid in the rehabilitation of the much-slandered Agnes, and to have an oppres-

sive cloud of sorrow removed from the memory of the great painter.

The chief authorities used in the preparation of this new memoir are the recent works of Dr. Thausing and Mr. W. B. Scott, with the series of articles now current in "The Portfolio," written by Professor Colvin. Mrs. Heaton's biography has also been studied with care; and other details have been gathered from modern works of travel and art-criticism, as well as from "The Art Journal," "La Gazette des Beaux Arts," and other periodicals of a similar character.

M. F. SWEETSER.

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ALBERT DÜRER.

CHAPTER I.

The Activities of Nuremberg. — The Dürer Family. — Early Years of Albert. — His Studies with Wohlgemuth. — The *Wander-Jahre*.

THE free imperial city of Nuremberg, in the heart of Franconia, was one of the chief centres of the active life of the Middle Ages, and shared with Augsburg the great trans-continental traffic between Venice and the Levant and Northern Europe. Its municipal liberties were jealously guarded by venerable guilds and by eminent magistrates drawn from the families of the merchant-princes, forming a government somewhat similar to the Venetian Council. The profits of a commercial prosperity second only to that of the Italian ports had greatly enriched the thrifty burghers, aided by the busy manufacturing estab-

lishments which made the city "the Birmingham of the Middle Ages." Public and private munificence exerted itself in the erection and adornment of new and splendid buildings; and the preparation of works of art and utility was stimulated on all sides. It was the era of the discovery of America, the revival of classic learning, and the growth of free thought in matters pertaining to religion. So far had the inventions of the artisans contributed to the comfort of the people, that Pope Pius II. said that "A Nuremberg citizen is better lodged than the King of Scots;" and so widely were they exported to foreign realms, that the proud proverb arose that

> "Nuremberg's hand .
> Goes through every land."

Nuremberg still stands, a vast mediæval relic, in the midst of the whirl and activity of modern Germany, rich and thriving, but almost unchanged in its antique beauty. The narrow streets in which Dürer walked are flanked, as then, by quaint gable-roofed houses, timber-fronted, with mullioned windows and arching portals. In the faded and venerable palaces of the fifteenth cen-

tury live the descendants of the old patrician families, cherishing the memories and archives of the past; and the stately Gothic churches are still rich in religious architecture, and in angular old Byzantine pictures and delicate German carvings. On the hill the castle rears its ponderous ramparts, which have stood for immemorial ages; and the high towers along the city walls have not yet bowed their brave crests to the spirit of the century of boulevards and railroads.

With two essentials of civilization, paper and printing-presses, Nuremberg supplied herself at an early day. The first paper-mill in Germany was established here in 1390; and its workmen were obliged to take an oath never to make paper for themselves, nor to reveal the process of manufacture. They went out on a strike when the mill was enlarged, but the authorities imprisoned them until they became docile once more. Koberger's printing-house contained twenty-four presses, and employed over a hundred men, printing not only Bibles and breviaries, but also chronicles, homilies, poems, and scientific works. As the Aldine Press attracted many authors and scholars to Venice, so Koberger's teeming press

led several German literati to settle at Nuremberg. For the four first years of Dürer's life, the wonderful mathematician and astronomer Regiomontanus dwelt here, and had no less than twenty-one books printed by Koberger. His numerous inventions and instruments awakened the deepest interest in the Nuremberg craftsmen, and stimulated a fruitful spirit of inquiry for many years.

The clockmakers of Nuremberg were famous for their ingenious productions. Watches were invented here in the year 1500, and were long known as "Nuremberg eggs." The modern composition of brass was formed by Erasmus Ebner; wire-drawing machinery also was a Nuremberg device; the air-gun was invented by Hobsinger; the clarionet, by Denner; and the church-organs made here were the best in Germany. There were also many expert metal-workers and braziers; and fifty master-goldsmiths dwelt in the town, making elegant and highly artistic works, images, seals, and medals, which were famous throughout Europe. The most exquisite flowers and insects, and other delicate objects, were reproduced in filagree silver; and

the first maiolica works in Northern Europe were also founded here.

Isolated, like the ducal cities of Italy, from the desolating wars of the great powers of Europe, and like them also growing rapidly in wealth and cultivation, Nuremberg afforded a secure refuge for Art and its children. In Dürer's day the great churches of St. Sebald, St. Lawrence, and Our Lady were finished; Peter Vischer executed the exquisite and unrivalled bronze Shrine of St. Sebald; and Adam Kraft completed the fairy-like Sacrament-house, sixty feet high, and "delicate as a tree covered with hoar-frost." Intimate with these two renowned artificers was Lindenast, "the red smith," who worked skilfully in beaten copper; and their studies were conducted in company with Vischer's five sons, who, with their wives and children, all dwelt happily at their father's house. Vischer lived till a year after Dürer's death, but there is no intimation that the two artists ever met. Another eminent craftsman was the unruly Veit Stoss, the marvellous wood-carver, many of whose works remain to this day; and there was also Hans Beheim, the sculptor, "an honorable, pious, and God-fear-

ing man;" and Bullman, who "was very learned in astronomy, and was the first to set the Theoria Planetarum in motion by clockwork;" and he who made the great alarm-bell, which was inscribed, "I am called the mass and the fire bell: Hans Glockengeiser cast me: I sound to God's service and honor." What shall we say also of Hartmann, Dürer's pupil, who invented the measuring-rod; Schoner, the maker of terrestrial globes; Donner, who improved screw machinery; and all the skilful gun-makers, joiners, carpet-workers, and silk-embroiderers? There was also the burgher Martin Behaim, the inventor of the terrestrial globe, who anticipated Columbus by sailing Eastward across the Pacific Ocean, passing through the Straits of Magellan and discovering Brazil, as early as 1485.

In Germany, as in Italy, the studio of the artist, full of pure and lofty ideals, had hardly yet evolved itself from the workshop of the picture-manufacturer. Nuremberg's chief artists at this time were Michael Wohlgemuth, Dürer's master; Lucas Kornelisz, also called Ludwig Krug, who, though a most skilful engraver, was sometimes forced to adopt the profession of a cook in order

to support himself; and Matthias Zagel, who was expert in both painting and engraving. Still another was the Venetian Jacopo de' Barbari, or Jacob Walch, "the master of the Caduceus," a dexterous engraver and designer, whom Dürer alludes to in his Venetian and Netherland writings. The art of engraving had been invented early in the fifteenth century, and was developing rapidly and richly toward perfection. The day of versatile artists had arrived, when men combined the fine and industrial arts in one life, and devoted themselves to making masterpieces in each department. The northern nations, unaided by classic models and traditions, were developing a new and indigenous æsthetic life, slow of growth, but bound to succeed in the long run.

The literary society of Dürer's epoch at Nuremberg was grouped in the *Sodalitas Literaria Rhenana*, under the learned Conrad Celtes, who published a book of Latin comedies, pure in Latinity and lax in morals, which he mischievously attributed to the Abbess Roswitha. Pirkheimer and the monk Chelidonius also belonged to this sodality. Other contemporary literati of the city were Cochläus, Luther's satirical op-

ponent; the Hebraist Osiander; Venatorius, who united the discordant professions of poetry and mathematics; the Provost Pfinzing, for whose poem of *Tewrdannkh*, Dürer's pupil Schäuffelein made 118 illustrations; Baumgärtner, Melanchthon's friend; Veit Dietrich, the reformer; and Joachim Camerarius, the Latinist. But the most illustrious of Nuremberg's authors at that time was the cobbler-poet, Hans Sachs, a radical in politics and religion, who scourged the priests and the capitalists of his day in songs and satires which were sung and recited by the workmen of all Germany. He himself tells us that he wrote 4,200 master-songs, 208 comedies and tragedies, 73 devotional and love songs, and 1,007 fables, tales, and miscellaneous poems; and others say that his songs helped the Reformation as much as Luther's preaching.

Thus the activities of mechanics, art, and literature pressed forward with equal fervor in the quaint old Franconian city, while Albert Dürer's life was passing on. "Abroad and far off still mightier things were doing; Copernicus was writing in his observatory, Vasco di Gama was on the Southern Seas."

I, Albrecht Dürer the younger, have sought out from among my father's papers these particulars of him, where he came from, and how he lived and died holily. God rest his soul! Amen." In this manner the pious artist begins an interesting family history, in which it is stated that the Dürers were originally from the romantic little Hungarian hamlet of Eytas, where they were engaged in herding cattle and horses. Anthony Dürer removed to the neighboring town of Jula, where he learned the goldsmith's art, which he taught to his son Albrecht, or Albert, while his other sons were devoted to mechanical employments and the priesthood. Albert was not content to stay in sequestered Jula, and, wandering over Germany and the Low Countries, at last came to Nuremberg, where he settled in 1455, in the service of the goldsmith Hieronymus Haller. This worthy Haller and his wife Kunigund, the daughter of Oellinger of Weissenberg, at that time had an infant daughter; and as she grew up Albert endeared himself to her to such purpose that, in 1467, when Barbara had become "a fair and handy maiden of fifteen," he married her, being forty years old himself.

During the next twenty-four years she bore him eighteen children, seven daughters and eleven sons, of whose births, names, and godparents the father made careful descriptions. Three only, Albert, Andreas, and Hans, arrived at years of maturity. It may well be believed that the poor master-goldsmith was forced to work hard and struggle incessantly to support such a great family; and his portrait shows that the hand-to-mouth existence of so many years had told heavily and left its imprint on his weary and careworn face. Yet he had certain sources of peace and gentleness in his life, and never sank into moroseness or selfishness. Let us quote the tender and reverent words of his son: "My father's life was passed in great struggles and in continuous hard work. With my dear mother bearing so many children, he never could become rich, as he had nothing but what his hands brought him. He had thus many troubles, trials, and adverse circumstances. But yet from every one who knew him he received praise, because he led an honorable Christian life, and was patient, giving all men consideration, and thanking God. He indulged himself in few pleasures, spoke

little, shunned society, and was in truth a God-fearing man. My dear father took great pains with his children, bringing them up to the honor of God. He made us know what was agreeable to others as well as to our Maker, so that we might become good neighbors; and every day he talked to us of these things, the love of God and the conduct of life."

Albert Dürer was the third child of Albert the Elder and Barbara Hallerin, and was born on the morning of the 21st of May, 1471. The house in which the Dürers then lived was a part of the great pile of buildings owned and in part occupied by the wealthy Pirkheimer family, and was called the *Pirkheimer Hinterhaus*. It fronted on the Winkler Strasse of Nuremberg, and was an ambitious home for a craftsman like Albert. The presence of Antonius Koberger, the famous book-printer, as godfather to the new-born child, shows also that the Dürers occupied an honorable position in the city.

The Pirkheimers were then prominent among the patrician families of Southern Germany, renowned for antiquity, enormously wealthy through successful commerce, and honored by important

offices in the State. The infant Willibald Pirkheimer was of about the same age as the young Albert Dürer; and the two became close companions in all their childish sports, despite the difference in the rank of their families. When the goldsmith's family moved to another house, at the foot of the castle-hill, five years later, the warm intimacy between the children continued unchanged.

The instruction of Albert in the rudiments of learning was begun at an early age, probably in the parochial school of St. Sebald, and was conducted after the singular manner of the schools of that day, when printed books were too costly to be intrusted to children. He lived comfortably in his father's house, and daily received the wise admonitions and moral teachings of the elder Albert. His friendship for Willibald enabled him to learn certain elements of the higher studies into which the young patrician was led by his tutors; and his visits to the Pirkheimer mansion opened views of higher culture and more refined modes of life.

Albert was enamoured with art from his earliest years, and spent many of his leisure hours

in making sketches and rude drawings, which he gave to his schoolmates and friends. The Imhoff Collection had a drawing of three heads, done in his eleventh year; the Posonyi Collection claimed to possess a Madonna of his fifteenth year; and the British Museum has a chalk-drawing of a woman holding a bird in her hand, whose first owner wrote on it, "This was drawn for me by Albert Dürer before he became a painter." The most interesting of these early works is in the Albertina at Vienna, and bears the inscription: "This I have drawn from myself from the looking-glass, in the year 1484, when I was still a child. — ALBERT DÜRER." It shows a handsome and pensive boy-face, oval in shape, with large and tender eyes, filled with solemnity and vague melancholy; long hair cut straight across the forehead, and falling over the shoulders; and full and pouting lips. It is faulty in design, but shows a considerable knowledge of drawing, and a strong faculty for portraiture. The certain sadness of expression tells that the schoolboy had already become acquainted with grief, probably from the straitened circumstances of his family, and the melancholy deaths of so

many brothers and sisters. The great mystery of sorrow was full early thrown across the path of the solemn artist. This portrait was always retained by Dürer as a memorial of his childhood.

He says of his father, "For me, I think, he had a particular affection; and, as he saw me diligent in learning, he sent me to school. When I had learned to write and read, he took me home again, with the intention of teaching me the goldsmith's work. In this I began to do tolerably well." He was taken into the goldsmith's workshop in his thirteenth year, and remained there two years, receiving instruction which was not without value in his future life, in showing him the elements of the arts of modelling and design. The accuracy and delicacy of his later plastic works show how well he apprehended these ideas, and how far he acquired sureness of expression. The elder Albert was a skilful master-workman, highly esteemed in his profession, and had received several important commissions. It is said that the young apprentice executed under his care a beautiful piece of silver-work representing the Seven Agonies of Christ.

"But my love was towards painting, much more than towards the goldsmith's craft. When at last I told my father of my inclination, he was not well pleased, thinking of the time I had been under him as lost if I turned painter. But he left me to have my will; and in the year 1486, on St. Andrew's Day, he settled me apprentice with Michael Wohlgemuth, to serve him for three years. In that time God gave me diligence to learn well, in spite of the pains I had to suffer from the other young men." Thus Dürer describes his change in life, and the embarkation on his true vocation, as well as the reluctance of the elder Albert to allow his noble and beloved boy to pass out from his desolated household into other scenes, and away from his companionship.

Wohlgemuth was one of the early religious painters who stood at the transition-point between the school of Cologne and that of the Van Eycks, or between the old pietistic traditions of Byzantine art and the new ideas of the art of the Northern Reformation. The conventionalisms of the Rhenish and Franconian paintings were being exchanged for a fresher originality and a truer realism; and the pictures of this

time curiously blended the old and the new. Wohlgemuth seems to have considered art as a money-getting trade rather than a high vocation, and his workroom was more a shop than a studio. He turned out countless Madonnas and other religious subjects for churches and chance purchasers, and also painted chests and carved and colored images of the saints, many of which were executed by his apprentices. A few of his works, however, were done with great care and delicacy, and show a worthy degree of sweetness and simplicity. Evidently the young pupil gained little besides a technical knowledge of painting from this master, — the mechanical processes, the modes of mixing and applying colors, the chemistry of pigments, and a certain facility in using them. It was well that the influences about him were not powerful enough to warp his pure and original genius into servile imitations of decadent methods. His hands were taught dexterity; and his mind was left to pursue its own lofty course, and use them as its skilful allies in the new conquests of art.

Wood-engraving was also carried on in Wohlgemuth's studio, and it is probable that Dürer here

learned the rudiments of this branch of art, which he afterwards carried to so high a perfection. Some writers maintain that his earliest works in this line were done for the famous "Nuremberg Chronicle," which was published in 1493 by Wohlgemuth and Pleydenwurf.

The three years which were spent in Wohlgemuth's studio were probably devoted to apprentice-work on compositions designed by the master, who was then about fifty years old, and at the summit of his fame. But few of Dürer's drawings now existing date from this epoch, one of which represents a group of horsemen, and another the three Swiss leaders, Fürst, Melchthal, and Staufacher. The beautiful portrait of Dürer's father, which is now at Florence, was executed by the young artist in 1490, probably to carry with him as a souvenir of home. Mündler says, "For beauty and delicacy of modelling, this portrait has scarcely been surpassed afterwards by the master, perhaps not equalled."

It was claimed by certain old biographers that the eminent Martin Schongauer of Colmar was Dürer's first master; but this is now contested, although it is evident that his pictures had a

powerful effect on the youth. Schongauer was the greatest artist and engraver that Germany had as yet produced, and exerted a profound influence on the art of the Rhineland. He renewed the fantastic conceits and grotesque vagaries which the Papal artists of Cologne had suppressed as heathenish, and prepared the way for, or perhaps even suggested, the weird elements of Dürer's conceptions. At the same time he passed back of his Netherland art-education, and studied a mystic benignity and dreamy spirituality suggestive of the Umbrian painters, with whose chief, the great Perugino, Martin was acquainted. Herein Dürer's works were in strong contrast with Schongauer's, and showed the new spirit that was stirring in the world.

Next to Schongauer, the great Italian artist Mantegna exercised the strongest influence upon Dürer, who studied his bold and austere engravings with earnest admiration, showing his traits in many subsequent works. Probably he met the famous Mantuan painter during the *Wander-jahre*, in Italy; and at the close of his Venetian journey he was about to pay a visit of homage to him, when he heard of his death.

During his three years of study we have seen that the delicate and sensitive youth suffered much from the reckless rudeness and jeering insults of his companions, rough hand-workers who doubtless failed to understand the poignancy of the torments which they inflicted on the sad-eyed son of genius. But his home was near at hand, and the tender care of his parents, always beloved. How often he must have wandered through the familiar streets of Nuremberg, with his dreamy artist-face and flowing hair, and studied the Gothic palaces, the fountains adorned with statuary, and the rich treasures of art in the great churches! Beyond the tall-towered town, danger lurked on every road; but inside the gray walls was peace and safety, and no free lances nor marauding men-at-arms could check the aspiring flight of the youth's bright imagination.

"And when the three years were out, my father sent me away. I remained abroad four years, when he recalled me; and, as I had left just after Easter in 1490, I returned home in 1494 just after Whitsuntide." Thus Albert describes the close of his *Lehr-jahre*, or labor-years, and the entrance upon his *Wander-jahre*, or travel-

years. According to a German custom, still prevalent in a modified degree, the youth was obliged to travel for a long period, and study and practise his trade or profession in other cities, before settling for life as a master-workman. Unfortunately all that Dürer records as to these eventful four years is given in the sentences above; and we can only theorize as to the places which he visited, and his studies of the older art-treasures of Europe. Some authors believe that a part of the *Wander-jahre* was spent in Italy, and Dr. Thausing, Dürer's latest and best biographer, clearly proves this theory by a close study of his notes and sketches. Others claim with equal positiveness, and less capability of proof, that they were devoted to the Low Countries. It is certain that he abode at Colmar in 1492, where he was honorably received by Gaspar, Paul, and Louis, the three brothers of Martin Schongauer. The great Martin had died some years before; but many of his best paintings were preserved at Colmar, and were carefully studied by Dürer. At a later day he wandered through the Rhineland to Basle, and spent his last year at Strasbourg. His portraits of his master and mistress

in the latter city were dated in 1494, and pertained to the Imhoff Collection.

His portrait painted by himself in 1493 was procured at Rome by the Hofrath Beireis, and described by Goethe. It shows a bright and vigorous face, full of youthful earnestness and joy, rich, harmonious, and finely executed, though thinly colored. He is attired in a blue-gray cloak with yellow strings, an embroidered shirt whose sleeves are bound with peach-colored ribbons, and a purple cap; and holds a piece of the blue flower called *Manns-treue*, or Man's-faith.

CHAPTER II.

Dürer marries Agnes Frey. — Her Character. — Early Engravings. — Portraits. — "The Apocalypse." — Death of Dürer's Father. — Drawings.

"AND when my *Wander-jahre* was over, Hans Frey treated with my father, and gave me his daughter, by name the *Jungfrau* Agnes, with a dowry of 200 guldens. Our wedding was held on the Monday before St. Margaret's Day (in July), in the year 1494." This dry statement of the most important event of the artist's life illustrates the ancient German custom of betrothal, where the bond of wedlock was considered as a matter-of-fact copartnership, with inalienable rights and duties, devoid of sentiment or romance. Since the relatives of the contracting parties were closely affected by such transactions, they usually managed the negotiations themselves; and the young people, thus thrown by their parents at each other's heads, were expected to, and usually did, accept the situation with submissiveness and

prudent obedience. In this case it appears that the first overtures came from the family of the lady; and perhaps the order for Albert to return from his wanderings was issued for this reason. Hans Frey was a burgher with large possessions in Nuremberg and the adjacent country; and his daughter was a very beautiful maiden. Her future husband does not appear to have seen her until the betrothal was made.

Most of Dürer's biographers have dwelt at great length on the malign influence which Agnes exercised upon his life, representing her as a jealous virago, imbittering the existence of the noble artist. But Dr. Thausing, in his new and exhaustive history of Dürer's life, vindicates the lady from this evil charge; and his position is carefully reviewed and sustained by Eugéne Müntz. He points out the fact that the long story of Agnes's uncongeniality rests solely on Pirkheimer's letter, and then shows that that ponderous burgher had reasons for personal hostility to her. The unbroken silence which Dürer preserves as to home-troubles, throughout his numerous letters and journals, is held as proof against the charges; and none of his intimate

friends and contemporaries (save Pirkheimer) allude to his domestic trials, though they wrote so much about him. The accusation of avarice on her part is combated by several facts, among which is the cardinal one of her self-sacrificing generosity to the Dürer family after her husband's death, and the remarkable record of her transferring to the endowment of the Protestant University of Wittenberg the thousand florins which Albert had placed in the hands of the Rath for her support. Pirkheimer's acrimonious letter (see p. 142) gives her credit at least for virtue and piety; and perhaps we may regard her aversion to the doughty writer as a point in her favor.

It is a singular and unexplained fact, that although Dürer was accustomed to sketch every one about him, yet no portrait of his wife is certainly known to exist, though several of his sketches are so called, without any foundation or proof. What adds to the strangeness of this omission is the fact that all accounts represent Agnes Dürer as a very handsome woman.

Probably the newly married couple dwelt at the house of the elder Dürer during the first years of their union. In 1494 Albert was admitted to

the guild of painters, submitting a pen-drawing of Orpheus and the Bacchantes as his test of ability; and at about the same time he drew the "Bacchanal" and "The Battle of the Tritons," which are now at Vienna. Herein he showed the contemporary classical tendency of art, which he so soon outgrew. About this same time he designed a frontispiece for the Latin poem which Dr. Ulsen had written about the pestilence which was devastating Nuremberg, showing a ghastly and repulsive man covered with plague-boils. The portrait of Dürer's father, in oil-colors, which is now at Frankfort, was also executed during this year.

Dürer's first copper-plate engraving dates from 1497, and represents four naked women, under a globe bearing the initials of "*O Gott Hilf*," or "O God, help," while human bones strew the floor, and a flaming devil appears in the background. During the next three years the master made twenty copper-plate engravings. The composition of "St. Jerome's Penance" shows the noble old ascetic kneeling alone in a rocky wilderness, beating his naked breast with a stone, and gazing at a crucifix, while the symbolical lion lies beside him. "The Penance of St. John Chrysostom"

depicts the long-bearded saint expiating his guilt in seducing and slaying the princess by crawling about on all-fours like a beast. She is seen at the mouth of a rocky cave, nursing her child. "The Prodigal Son" is another tender and exquisitely finished copper-plate engraving, in which the yearning and prayerful Prodigal, bearing the face of Dürer, is kneeling on bare knees by the trough at which a drove of swine are feeding. In the background is a group of substantial German farm-buildings, with unconcerned domestic animals and fowls. "The Rape of Amymone" shows a gloomy Triton carrying off a very ugly woman from the midst of her bathing Danaide sisters. "The Dream" portrays an obese German soundly sleeping by a great stove, with a foolish-faced naked Venus and a winged Cupid standing by his side, and a little demon blowing in his ear. "The Love Offer" is made by an ugly old man to a pretty maiden, whose waist is encircled by his arm, while her hand is greedily outstretched to receive the money which he offers. Another early engraving on copper shows a wild and naked man holding an unspeakably ugly woman, who is endeavoring to tear herself from his arms. Still

others delineate Justice sitting on a lion, "The Little Fortune" standing naked on a globe, and the monstrous hog of Franconia.

It was chiefly through his engravings that Dürer became and remains known to the world; and by the same mode of expression he boldly showed forth the doubts and despairs, yearnings and conflicts, not only of his own pure and sorrowful soul, but also of Europe, quivering in the throes of the Reformation.

The artists of Italy, when the age of faith was ended, turned to the empty splendors and symmetries of paganism; but their German brothers faced the new problems more sternly, and strove for the life of the future. Under Dürer's hard and homely German scenes, there seem to be double meanings and unfathomable fancies, usually alluding to sorrow, sin, and death, and showing forth the vanity of all things earthly. In sharp contrast with these profound allegories are the humorous grotesqueness and luxuriant fancifulness which appear in others of the artist's engravings, fantastic, uncouth, and quaint. He frequently yielded to the temptation to introduce strange animals and unearthly monsters into his

pictures, even those of the most sacred subjects; and his so-called "Virgin with the Animals" is surrounded by scores of birds, insects, and quadrupeds of various kinds.

It is interesting to hear of the rarity of the early impressions of Dürer's engravings, and the avidity with which they are sought and the keenness with which they are analyzed by collectors. In many cases the copies of these engravings are as good as the originals, and can be distinguished only by the most trifling peculiarities. The water-marks of the paper on which they are printed form a certain indication of their period. Before his Venetian journey Dürer used paper bearing the water-mark of the bull's head; and, after his return from the Netherlands, paper bearing a little pitcher; while the middle period had several peculiar symbols. A fine impression of the copper-plate engraving of "St. Jerome" recently brought over $500; and the Passion in Copper sold in 1864 for $300.

"The Portfolio" for 1877 contains a long series of articles by Prof. Sidney Colvin on "Albert Dürer: His Teachers, his Rivals, and his Scholars," treating exhaustively of his relations as

an engraver to other contemporary masters,— Schongauer, Israhel van Meckenen, Mantegna, Boldini and the Florentines, Jacopo de' Barbari (Jacob Walch), Marc Antonio, Lucas van Leyden, and certain other excellent but nameless artists.

Vasari says, "The power and boldness of Albert increasing with time, and as he perceived his works to obtain increasing estimation, he now executed engravings on copper, which amazed all who beheld them." Three centuries later Von Schlegel wrote, "When I turn to look at the numberless sketches and copper-plate designs of the present day, Dürer appears to me like the originator of a new and noble system of thought, burning with the zeal of a first pure inspiration, and eager to diffuse his deeply conceived and probably true and great ideas."

In 1497 Dürer painted the excellent portrait of his father, which the Rath of Nuremberg presented to Charles I. of England, and which is now at Sion House, the seat of the Earl of Northumberland. It shows a man aged yet strong, with grave and anxious eyes, compressed lips, and an earnest expression. Another similar portrait of the same date is in the Munich Pinakothek. He also exe-

cuted two portraits of the pretty patrician damsel, Catherine Fürleger; one as a loose-haired Magdalen (which is now in London), and the other as a German lady (now at Frankfort).

In 1498 Dürer painted a handsome portrait of himself, with curly hair and beard, and a rich holiday costume. His expression is that of a man who appreciates and delights in his own value, and is thoroughly self-complacent. This picture was presented by Nuremberg to King Charles I. of England; and, in the dispersion of his gallery during the Commonwealth, it was bought by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It is now in the Uffizi Gallery, though Mündler calls this Florentine picture a copy of a nobler original which is in the Madrid Gallery.

During this year Dürer published his first great series of woodcuts, representing the Apocalypse of St. John, in fifteen pictures full of terrible impressiveness and the naturalistic quaintness of early German faith. The boldness of the youth who thus took for his theme the marvellous mysteries of Patmos was warranted in the grand weirdness and perennial fascination of the resulting compositions. This series of rich and

skilful engravings marked a new era in the history of wood-engraving, and the entrance of a noble artistic spirit into a realm which had previously been occupied by rude monkish cuts of saints and miracles. Jackson calls these representations of the Apocalypse "much superior to all wood-engravings that had previously appeared, both in design and execution." The series was brought out simultaneously in German and Latin editions, and was published by the author himself. It met with a great success, and was soon duplicated in new pirated editions.

It has of late years become a contested point as to whether Dürer really engraved his woodcuts with his own hands, or whether he only drew the designs on the wood, and left their mechanical execution to practical workmen. It is only within the present century that a theory to the latter effect has been advanced and supported by powerful arguments and first-class authorities. The German scholars Bartsch and Von Eye, and the historians of engraving Jackson and Chatto, concur in denying Dürer's use of the graver. But there is a strong and well-supported belief that many of the engravings attributed to him

were actually done by his hand, and that during the earlier part of his career he was largely engaged in this way. The exquisite wood-carvings which are undoubtedly his work show that he was not devoid of the manual dexterity needful for these plates; and it is also certain that the mediæval artists did not hold themselves above mechanical labors, since even Raphael and Titian were among the *peintres-graveurs*. Dürer's efforts greatly elevated the art of wood-engraving in Germany, and this improvement was directly conducive to its growth in popularity. A large number of skilful engravers were developed by the new demand; and in his later years Dürer doubtless found enough expert assistants, and was enabled to devote his time to more noble achievements. He used the art to multiply and disseminate his rich ideas, which thus found a more ready expression than that of painting. Heller attributes one hundred and seventy-four wood-engravings to him; and many more, of varying claims to authenticity, are enumerated by other writers. Twenty-six were made before 1506. The finest and the only perfect collection of Dürer's woodcuts is owned by Herr Cornill d'Orville of Frankfort-on-the-Main.

In 1500 Dürer painted the noble portrait of himself which is now at Munich, and is the favorite of all lovers of the great artist. It shows a high and intellectual forehead, and tender and loving eyes, with long curling hair which falls far down on his shoulders. In many respects it bears the closest resemblance to the traditional pictures of Christ, with its sad and solemn beauty, and large sympathetic eyes, and has the same effeminate full lips and streaming ringlets.

During the next five years Dürer was in some measure compensated for the trials of his home by the cheerful companionship of his old friend Pirkheimer, who had recently returned from service with the Emperor's army in the Tyrolese wars. At his hospitable mansion the artist met many eminent scholars, reformers, and literati, and broadened his knowledge of the world, while receiving worthy homage for his genius and his personal accomplishments. Baumgärtner, Volkamer, Harsdorfer, and other patricians of the city, were his near friends; and the Augustine Prior, Eucharius Karl, and the brilliant Lazarus Spengler, the Secretary of Nuremberg, were also intimate with both Dürer and Pirkheimer. During

the next twenty years the harassed artist often sought refuge among these gatherings of choice spirits, when weary of his continuous labors of ambition.

Dürer pathetically narrates the death of his venerable father, in words as vivid as one of his pictures, and full of quaint tenderness: "Soon he clearly saw death before him, and with great patience waited to go, recommending my mother to me, and a godly life to all of us. He received the sacraments, and died a true Christian, on the eve of St. Matthew (Sept. 21), at midnight, in 1502. . . . The old nurse helped him to rise, and put the close cap upon his head again, which had become wet by the heavy sweat. He wanted something to drink; and she gave him Rhine wine, of which he tasted some, and then wished to lie down again. He thanked her for her aid, but no sooner lay back upon his pillows than his last agony began. Then the old woman trimmed the lamp, and set herself to read aloud St. Bernard's dying song; but she only reached the third verse, and behold his soul had gone. God be good to him! Amen. Then the little maid, when she saw that he was dying, ran quickly up to

my chamber, and waked me. I went down fast, but he was gone; and I grieved much that I had not been found worthy to be beside him at his end."

At this time Albert took home his brother Hans, who was then twelve years old, to learn the art of painting in his studio; and his other young brother, Andreas, the goldsmith's apprentice, now set forth upon his *Wander-jahre*. Within two years his mother, the widowed Barbara, had exhausted her scanty means; and she also was taken into Dürer's home, and lovingly cared for by her son.

In 1503 Dürer's frail constitution yielded to an attack of illness. A drawing of Christ crowned with thorns, now in the British Museum, bears his inscription: "I drew this face in my sickness, 1503." In the same year he executed a copper-plate engraving of a skull emblazoned on an escutcheon, which is crowned by a winged helmet, and supported by a weird woman, over whose shoulder a satyr's face is peering. A contemporary copper-plate shows the Virgin nursing the Infant Jesus. The painting of this same subject, bearing the date of 1503, is now in the

Vienna Belvedere, portraying an unlovely German mother and a very earthly baby.

The celebrated "Green Passion" was executed in 1504, and is a series of twelve drawings on green paper, illustrating the sufferings of Christ. Some critics prefer this set, for delicacy and power, to either of the three engraved Passions. The theory is advanced that these exquisite drawings were made for the Emperor, or some other magnate, who wished to possess a unique copy. The Green Passion is now in the Vienna Albertina, the great collection of drawings made by the Archduke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, which includes 160 of Dürer's sketches, designs, travel-notes, studies of costume and architecture, &c.

Over 600 authentic sketches and drawings by Dürer are now preserved in Europe, and are of great interest as showing the freedom and firmness of the great master's first conceptions, and the gradual evolution of his ultimate ideas. They are drawn on papers of various colors and different preparations, with pen, pencil, crayon, charcoal, silver point, tempera, or water-colors. Some are highly finished, and others are only

rapid jottings or bare outlines. The richest of the ancient collections was that of Hans Imhoff of Nuremberg, who married Pirkheimer's daughter Felicitas, and in due time added his father-in-law's Dürer-drawings to his own collection. His son Willibald further enriched the family art-treasures by many of the master's drawings which he bought from Andreas Dürer, and by inheriting the pictures of Barbara Pirkheimer. He solemnly enjoined in his will that this great collection should never be alienated, but should descend through the Imhoff family as an honored possession. His widow, however, speedily offered to sell the entire series to the Emperor Rudolph, and it was soon broken up and dispersed. The Earl of Arundel secured a great number of Dürer's drawings here, and carried them to England. In 1637 Arundel bought a large folio containing nearly 200 of these sketches, which was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1753 by Sir Hans Sloane. The museum has now one of the best existing collections of these works, some of which are of rare interest and value, especially the highly finished water-colors and pen-drawings.

The interesting sketch-books used by Dürer on his journeys to Venice and to the Netherlands remained forgotten in the archives of a noble Nuremberg family until within less than a century, when the family became extinct, and its property was dispersed. They were then acquired by the venerable antiquary Baron von Derschau, who sold them to Nagler and Heller. Nagler's share was afterwards acquired by the Berlin Museum; and Heller's was bequeathed to the library of Bamberg.

In 1504 Pirkheimer's wife Crescentia died in childbirth, after only two years of married life. Her husband bore witness that she had never caused him any trouble, except by her death; and engaged Dürer to make a picture of her death-bed. This work was beautifully executed in water-colors, and depicts the expiring woman on a great bedstead, surrounded by many persons, among whom are Pirkheimer and his sister Charitas, the Abbess, with the Augustinian Prior.

The exquisite copper-plate engraving of "The Nativity" dates from this year, and shows the Virgin adoring the new-born Jesus, in the shelter of a humble German house among massive

ancient ruins, while Joseph is drawing water from the well, and an old shepherd approaches the Child on his knees. The "Adam and Eve" was also done on copper this year, with the parents of all mankind, surrounded by animals, and standing near the tree of knowledge, from which the serpent is delivering the fatal apple to Eve.

In the same year Dürer painted a carefully wrought "Adoration of the Kings," for the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony. It was afterwards presented by Christian II. to the Emperor Rudolph, and is now in the Uffizi, at Florence, which contains more pictures by Dürer than any other gallery outside of Germany. Here also is the controverted picture of "Calvary," dated 1505, displaying on one small canvas all the scenes of the Passion, with an astonishing number of figures finished in miniature.

"The Satyr's Family" is an engraving on copper, showing the goat-footed father cheerily playing on a pipe, to the evident amusement of his human wife and child. "The Great Horse" and "The Little Horse" are similar productions

of this period, in which the commentators vainly strive to find some recondite meaning. Sixteen engravings on copper were made between 1500 and 1506.

Dürer has been called "The Chaucer of Painting," by reason of the marvellous quaintness of his conceptions; and Ruskin speaks of him as "intense in trifles, gloomily minute." His details, minute as they were, received the most careful study, and were all thought out before the pictures were begun, so that he neither erased nor altered his lines, nor made preliminary sketches. He was essentially a thinker who drew, rather than a drawer who thought.

CHAPTER III.

The Journey to Venice. — Bellini's Friendship. — Letters to Pirkheimer. — "The Feast of Rose Garlands." — Bologna. — "Adam and Eve." — "The Coronation of the Virgin."

LATE in 1505 Dürer made a journey to Venice, probably with a view to recover his health, enlarge his circle of friends and patrons, and study the famous Venetian paintings. He was worn down by continuous hard work, and weary of the dull uneventfulness of his life, and hailed an opportunity to rest in sunny Italy. He borrowed money from Pirkheimer for his journey, and left a small sum for family expenses during his absence. Between Nuremberg and her rich Southern rival there was a large commerce, with a weekly post; and many German merchants and artists were then residing in Venice. Dürer rode down on horseback; and suffered an attack of illness at Stein, near Laibach, where he rewarded the artist who nad nursed him by painting a picture on the wall of his house. On arriving at

Venice, the master was cordially received, and highly honored by the chief artists and literati of the city. The heads of Venetian art at that time were Giovanni Bellini and Carpaccio, both of whom were advanced in years; and Giorgione and Titian, who were not mentioned by our traveller, though they were both at work for the Fondaco de' Tedeschi at the same time as himself.

During his residence in Venice he wrote nine long letters to "the honorable and wise Herr Willibald Pirkheimer, Burgher of Nuremberg," which were walled up in the Imhoff mansion during the Thirty Years' War, and discovered at a later age. Much of these letters is taken up with details about Pirkheimer's commissions for precious stones and books, or with badinage about the burgher's private life, with frequent allusions to the support of the Dürers at home. Of greater interest are the accounts of the writer's successes in art, and the friends whom he met in Venetian society. The letters were embellished with rude caricatures and grotesques, matching the broad humor of the jovial allusions in the text. Either Pirkheimer was a man of

most riotous life, or Dürer was a bold and pertinacious jester, unwearying in mock-earnest reproofs. These letters were sealed with the Dürer crest, composed of a pair of open doors above three steps on a shield, which was a punning allusion to the name Dürer, or Thürer, *Thür* being the German word for *door*. In the second letter he says, —

"I wish you were in Venice. There are many fine fellows among the painters, who get more and more friendly with me; it holds one's heart up. Well-brought-up folks, good lute-players, skilled pipers, and many noble and excellent people, are in the company, all wishing me very well, and being very friendly. On the other hand, here are the falsest, most lying, thievish villains in the whole world, appearing to the unwary the pleasantest possible fellows. I laugh to myself when they try it with me: the fact is, they know their rascality is public, though one says nothing. I have many good friends among the Italians, who warn me not to eat or drink with their painters; for many of them are my enemies, and copy my picture in the church, and others of mine wherever they meet with them;

and yet, notwithstanding this, they abuse my works, and say that they are not according to ancient art, and therefore not good. But Gian Bellini has praised me highly before several gentlemen, and he wishes to have something of my painting. He came himself, and asked me to do something for him, saying that he would pay me well for it; and all the people here tell me what a good man he is, so that I also am greatly inclined to him."

These sentences show the artist's pleasure at the kindly way in which the Italians received him, and also reveal the danger in which he stood of being poisoned by jealous rivals. Another ambiguous sentence has given rise to the belief that Dürer had visited Venice eleven years previously, during his *Wander-jahre.*

Camerarius says that Bellini was so amazed and delighted at the exquisite fineness of Dürer's painting, especially of hair, that he begged him to give him the brush with which he had done such delicate work. The Nuremberger offered him any or all of his brushes, but Bellini asked again for the one with which he had painted the hair; upon which Dürer took one of his common

brushes, and painted a long tress of woman's hair. Bellini reported that he would not have believed such marvellous work possible, if he had not seen it himself.

The third letter describes the adventures of the inexpert artist in securing certain sapphires, amethysts, and emeralds for his "dear Herr Pirkheimer," and complains that the money earned by painting was all swallowed up by living expenses. The jealous Venetian painters had also forced him, by process of law, to pay money to their art-schools.

His brother Hans was now sixteen years old, and had become a source of responsibility, for Dürer adds: "With regard to my brother, tell my mother to speak to Wohlgemuth, and see whether he wants him, or will give him work till I return, or to others, so that he may help himself. I would willingly have brought him with me to Venice, which would have been useful to him and to me, and also on account of his learning the language; but my mother was afraid that the heavens would fall upon him and upon me too. I pray you, have an eye to him yourself: he is lost with the women-folk. Speak to the boy as

you well know how to do, and bid him behave well and learn diligently until I return, and not be a burden to the mother; for I cannot do every thing, although I will do my best."

In the fourth letter he speaks of having traded his pictures for jewels, and sends greetings to his friend Baumgärtner, saying also: "Know that by the grace of God I am well, and that I am working diligently. . . . I wish that it suited you to be here. I know you would find the time pass quickly, for there are many agreeable people here, very good amateurs; and I have sometimes such a press of strangers to visit me, that I am obliged to hide myself; and all the gentlemen wish me well, but very few of the painters."

The fifth letter opens with a long complimentary flourish in a barbarous mixture of Italian and Spanish, and then chaffs Pirkheimer unmercifully for his increasing intrigues. It also thanks Pirkheimer for trying to placate Agnes Frey, who is evidently much disappointed because her husband lingers so long at Venice. The Prior Eucharius is besought to pray that Dürer might be delivered from the new and terrible "French disease," then fatally prevalent in Italy. Mention is made

of Andreas, the goldsmith, Dürer's brother, meeting him at Venice, and borrowing money to relieve his distress.

The next letter starts off with quaint mock-deference, and alludes to the splendid Venetian soldiery, and their contempt of the Emperor. Farther on are unintelligible allusions, and passages too vulgar for translation. He says that the Doge and Patriarch had visited his studio to inspect the new picture, and that he had effectually silenced the artists who claimed that he was only good at engraving, and could not use colors. Soon afterwards he writes about the completion of his great painting of the Rose Garlands; and says, "There is no better picture of the Virgin Mary in the land, because all the artists praise it, as well as the nobility. They say they have never seen a more sublime, a more charming painting." He adds that he had declined orders to the amount of over 2,000 ducats, in order to return home, and was then engaged in finishing a few portraits.

The last letter congratulates Pirkheimer on his political successes, but expresses a fear lest "so great a man will never go about the streets

again talking with the poor painter Dürer, — with a poltroon of a painter." In response to Pirkheimer's threat of making love to his wife if he remained away longer, he said that if such was done, he might keep Agnes until her death. He also tells how he had been attending a dancing-school, but could not learn the art, and retired in disgust after two lessons.

The picture which Dürer painted for the Fondaco de' Tedeschi was until recently supposed to be a "St. Bartholomew;" but it is now believed that it was the renowned "Feast of Rose Garlands," which is now at the Bohemian Monastery of Strahow. He worked hard on this picture for seven months, and was proud of its beauty and popularity. The Emperor Rudolph II. bought it from the church in which it was set up, and had it carried on men's shoulders all the way from Venice to Prague, to avoid the dangers attending other modes of conveyance. When Joseph II. sold his pictures, in 1782, this one was bought by the Abbey of Strahow, and remained buried in oblivion for three-quarters of a century. The picture shows the Virgin sitting under a canopy and a star-strewn crown held by

flying cherubs, with the graceful Child in her lap. She is placing a crown of roses on the head of the Emperor Maximilian, while Jesus places another on the head of the Pope; and a monk on one side is similarly honored by St. Dominic, the founder of the Feast of the Rose Garlands. A multitude of kneeling men and women on either side are being crowned with roses by merry little child-angels, flying through the air; while on the extreme right, Dürer and Pirkheimer are seen standing by a tree.

Pirkheimer and Agnes had both been urging the master to return; but he seemed reluctant to exchange the radiance of Italy for the quietness of his home-circle, and mournfully exclaims, "Oh, how I shall freeze after this sunshine! Here I am a gentleman, at home only a parasite!" A brilliant career was open before him at Venice, whose Government offered him a pension of 200 ducats; but his sense of duty compelled him to return to Germany, though in bitterness of spirit. Before turning Northward he rode to Bologna, "because some one there will teach me the secret art of perspective" (Francesco Francia); and met Christopher Scheurl, who greatly admired him.

A year later Raphael also came to Bologna, and saw some works left there by Dürer, from which arose an intimate correspondence and exchanges of pictures between the artists. The master had been invited to visit the venerable Mantegna, at Mantua; but that Nestor of North-Italian art died before the plan was carried out. Dürer afterwards told Camerarius that this death "caused him more grief than any mischance that had befallen him during his life."

Art-critics agree in rejoicing that Dürer conquered the temptations which were held out to him from the gorgeous Italian city, and returned to his plain life in the cold North. He escaped the danger of sacrificing his individualism to the glowing and sensuous Venetian school of art, and preserved the quaintness and vigor of his own Gothic inspirations for the joy of future ages.

The marine backgrounds in many of Dürer's later pictures are referred by Ruskin to the artist's pleasant memories of Venice, "where he received the rarest of all rewards granted to a good workman; and, for once in his life, was understood." Other and wilder landscapes in his woodcuts were reminiscences of the pastoral regions of the Franconian Switzerland.

The personal history of Dürer between 1507 and 1520 was barren of details, but evidently full of earnest work, as existing pictures bear witness. It was the golden period of his art-life, abounding in productiveness. His work-shop was the seat of the chief art-school in Nuremberg, and contained many excellent young painters and engravers, to whom the master delivered his wise axioms and earnest thoughts in rich profusion.

During this period, also, he probably executed certain of his best works in carving, which are hereinafter described. Dr. Thausing denies that Dürer used the chisel of the sculptor to any extent, and refuses to accept the genuineness of the carvings which the earlier biographers have attributed to him. Scott is of the opinion that in most cases these rich and delicate works were executed by other persons, either from his drawings or under his inspection.

On his return from Venice, Dürer painted life-sized nude figures of Adam and Eve, representing them with the fatal apple in their hands, at the moment of the Fall. They are well designed in outline, but possess a certain anatomical hardness, lacking in grace and mobility. They were greatly

admired by the Nurembergers, in whose Rath-haus they were placed; but were at length presented to the Emperor Rudolph II. He replaced them with copies, which Napoleon, in 1796, supposed to be Dürer's original works, and removed to Paris. He afterwards presented them to the town of Mayence, where they are still exhibited as Dürer's. The true originals passed into Spain, where they were first redeemed from oblivion by Passavant, about the year 1853. A copy of the Adam and Eve, which was executed in Dürer's studio and under his care, is now at the Pitti Palace.

In the spring of 1507 Dürer met at the house of his brother-in-law Jacob Frey, the rich Frankfort merchant Jacob Heller, who commissioned him to paint an altar-piece. He was delayed by a prolonged attack of fever in the summer, and by the closing works on the Elector's picture.

Between 1507 and 1514 (inclusive) Dürer made forty-eight engravings and etchings, and over a hundred woodcuts, bespeaking an iron diligence and a remarkable power of application. The rapid sale of these works in frequent new editions gave a large income to their author, and

placed him in a comfortable position among the burghers of Nuremberg. The religious excitement then prevailing throughout Europe, on the eve of the Reformation, increased the demand for his engravings of the Virgin, the saints, and the great Passion series.

In 1508 Dürer finished the painting of "The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians," to which he professed to have given all his time for a year. It was ordered by Frederick of Saxony, the patron of Lucas Cranach, who had seen the master's woodcut of the same subject, and desired it reproduced in an oil-painting. It is a painful and unpleasant scene, full of brutality and horror; and the picture is devoid of unity, though conspicuous for clear and brilliant coloring. Dürer and Pirkheimer stand in the middle of the foreground.

On the completion of this work the master wrote to Heller, "No one shall persuade me to work according to what I am paid." He then began Heller's altar-piece, under unnecessary exhortation "to paint his picture well," and made a great number of careful studies for the new composition. When fairly under way, he de-

manded 200 florins for his work instead of the 130 florins of the contract-price, which drew an angry answer from the frugal merchant, with accusations of dishonesty. The artist rejoined sharply, dwelling upon the great cost of the colors and the length of the task, yet offering to carry out his contract in order to save his good faith. Throughout the next year Heller stimulated the painter to hasten his work, until Dürer became angry, and threw up the commission. He was soon induced to resume it, and completed the picture in the summer of 1509, upon which the delighted merchant paid him gladly, and sent handsome presents to his wife and brother. Dürer wrote to Heller, "It will last fresh and clean for five hundred years, for it is not done as ordinary paintings are. . . . But no one shall ever again persuade me to undertake a painting with so much work in it. Herr Jorg Tauss offered himself to pay me 400 florins for a Virgin in a landscape, but I declined positively, for I should become a beggar by this means. Henceforward I will stick to my engraving; and, if I had done so before, I should be richer by a thousand florins than I am to-day."

The picture which caused so much argument and toil was "The Coronation of the Virgin," which was set up over the bronze monument of the Heller family in the Dominican Church at Frankfort. Its exquisite delicacy of execution attracted great crowds to the church, and quickly enriched the monastery. Singularly enough, the most famous part of the picture was the sole of the foot of one of the kneeling Apostles, which was esteemed such a marvellous work that great sums were offered to have it cut out of the canvas. The Emperor Rudolph II. offered the immense amount of 10,000 florins for the painting, in vain; but in 1613 it passed into the possession of Maximilian of Bavaria, and was destroyed in the burning of the palace at Munich, sixty years later. So the renowned picture, which Dürer said gave him "more joy and satisfaction than any other he ever undertook," passed away, leaving no engraving or other memorial, save a copy by Paul Juvenal. This excellent reproduction is now at Nuremberg, and is provided with the original wings, beautifully painted by Dürer, showing on one the portrait of Jacob Heller and the death of St. James, and on the other Heller's wife, and the martyrdom of St. Catherine.

In 1501 the burgher Schiltkrot and the pious copper-smith Matthäus Landauer founded the House of the Twelve Brothers, an alms-house for poor old men of Nuremberg; and eight years later, Landäuer ordered Dürer to paint an altar-piece of "The Adoration of the Trinity," for its chapel. Much of the master's time for the next two years was devoted to this great work.

CHAPTER IV.

Dürer's House. — His Poetry. — Sculptures. — The Great and Little Passions. — Life of the Virgin. — Plagiarists. — Works for the Emperor Maximilian.

SOME time after his marriage with Agnes Frey, Dürer moved into the new house near the Thiergärtner Gate, which had perhaps been bought with the dowry of his bride. Here he labored until his death, and executed his most famous works. It is a spacious house, with a lower story of stone, wide portals, a paved interior court, and pleasant upper rooms between thick half-timber walls, whose mullioned windows look out on lines of quaint Gothic buildings and towers, and on the broad paved square at the foot of the Zisselgasse (now Albrecht-Dürer-Strasse). Just across the square was the so-called "Pilate's House," whose owner, Martin Koetzel, had made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and brought back measurements of the Dolorous Way. The artist's house is now carefully preserved as public prop-

erty, and contains the gallery of the Dürer Art-Union. In 1828, on the third centennial of his death, the people erected a bronze statue of the master, designed by Rauch, on the square before the house.

In 1509–10 Dürer derived pleasure and furnished much amusement to his friends from verse-making, in which he suffered a worse failure even than Raphael had done. It seems that Pirkheimer ridiculed a long-drawn couplet which he had made, upon which the master composed a neat bit of proverbial philosophy, of which the following is a translation: —

"Strive earnestly with all thy might,
That God should give thee Wisdom's light;
He doth his wisdom truly prove,
Whom neither death nor riches move;
And he shall also be called wise,
Who joy and sorrow both defies;
He who bears both honor and shame,
He well deserves the wise man's name;
Who knows himself, and evil shuns,
In Wisdom's path he surely runs;
Who 'gainst his foe doth vengeance cherish,
In hell-flame doth his wisdom perish;
Who strives against the Devil's might,
The Lord will help him in the fight;

Who keeps his heart forever pure,
He of Wisdom's crown is sure;
And who loves God with all his heart,
Chooses the wise and better part."

But Pirkheimer was not more pleased with this; and the witty Secretary Spengler sent Dürer a satirical poem, applying the moral of the fable of the shoemaker who criticised a picture by Apelles. He answered this in a song of sixty lines, closing with, —

"Therefore I will still make rhymes,
Though my friend may laugh at times:
So the Painter with hairy beard
Says to the Writer who mocked and jeered."

"1510, this have I made on Good and Bad Friends." Thus the master prefaces a platitudinous poem of thirty lines; which was soon followed by "The Teacher," of sixty lines. Later in the year he wrote the long Passion-Song, which was appended to the print of *Christus am Kreuz*. It is composed of eight sections, of ten lines each, and is full of quaint mediæval tenderness and reverence, and the intense prayerfulness of the old German faith. The sections

are named Matins, the First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours, Vespers, Compline, and Let Us Pray, the latter of which is redolent with earnest devotion: —

> "O Almighty Lord and God,
> Who the martyr's press hast trod;
> Jesus, the only God, the Son,
> Who all this to Thyself hast done,
> Keep it before us to-day and to-morrow,
> Give us continual rue and sorrow;
> Wash me clean, and make me well,
> I pray Thee, like a soul from hell.
> Lord, Thou hast overcome: look down;
> Let us at last to share the crown."

The marvellous high-relief of "The Birth of St. John the Baptist" was executed in 1510, and shows Dürer's remarkable powers as a sculptor. It is cut in a block of cream-colored lithographic stone, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and is full of rich and minute pictorial details. Elizabeth is rising in bed, aided by two attendants; and the old nurse brings the infant to Zacharias, who writes its name on a tablet, while two men are entering at the doorway. The room is furnished with the usual utensils and properties of a German bed-

room. This wonderful and well-preserved work of art was bought in the Netherlands about eighty years ago, for $2,500, and is now in the British Museum. The companion-piece, "St. John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness," is now in the Brunswick Museum, and is carved with a similar rich effect. This museum also contains a carving in wood, representing the "Ecce Homo."

Space would fail to tell of the many beautiful little pieces of sculpture which Dürer executed in ivory, boxwood, and stone, or of the numerous excellently designed medals ascribed to him. Chief among these was the exquisite "Birth of Christ," and the altar of agate, formerly at Vienna; Adam and Eve, in wood, at Gotha; reliefs of the Birth and the Agony of Christ, in ivory; the Four Evangelists, in boxwood, lately at Baireuth; several carvings on ivory, of religious scenes, at Munich; a woman with padlocked mouth, sitting in the stocks, cut in soapstone; a delicate relief of the Flight into Egypt; busts of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy; and the Love-Fountain, now at Dresden, with figures of six persons drinking the water.

The famous painting of "The Adoration of the Trinity" was finished in 1511, and represents God the Father holding up His crucified Son for the worship of an immense congregation of saints, while overhead is the mystic Dove, surrounded by a circle of winged cherubs' heads. The kneeling multitude includes princes, prelates, warriors, burghers, and peasants, equally accepting the Athanasian dogma. On the left is a great group of female saints, led by the sweet and stately Virgin Mary; and on the right are the kneeling prophets and apostles, Moses with the tables of the Law, and David with his harp. On the broad terrestrial landscape, far below, Dürer stands alone, by a tall tablet bearing the Latin inscription of his name and the date of the picture. The whole scene is full of light and splendor, delicate beauty of angels, and exquisite minuteness of finish. A century later the Rath of Nuremberg removed this picture from the sepulchral chapel of its founder, and presented it to the Emperor Rudolph II. It is now one of the gems of the Vienna Belvedere.

About this time the master's brother Andreas, the goldsmith, returned to Nuremberg after his

long wanderings, and eased the evident anxiety of his family by settling respectably in life. Hans was still in his brother's studio, where he learned his art so well that he afterwards became court-painter to the King of Poland.

In 1511 Dürer published a third edition of the engravings of the Apocalypse, with a warning to piratical engravers that the Emperor had forbidden the sale of copies or impressions other than those of the author, within the Empire, under heavy penalties to transgressors. To the same year belong three of the master's greatest works in engraving on wood.

"The Great Passion" contains twelve folio woodcuts, unequal in their execution, and probably made by different workmen of varying abilities. The vignette is an "Ecce Homo;" and the other subjects are, the Last Supper, Christ at Gethsemane, His Betrayal, the Scourging, the Mockery, Christ Bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Descent into Hell, the Maries Mourning over Christ's Body, the Entombment, and the Resurrection. These powerful delineations of the Agony of Our Lord are characterized by rare originality of conception, pathos, and grand-

eur. They were furnished with Latin verses by the monk Chelidonius, and bore the imperial warning against imitation. Four large editions were printed from these cuts, and numerous copies, especially in Italy, where the Emperor's edict was inoperative.

"The Little Passion" was a term applied by Dürer himself to distinguish his series of thirty-seven designs from the larger pictures of "The Great Passion." It is the best-known of the master's engravings; and has been published in two editions at Nuremberg, a third at Venice in 1612, and a fourth at London in 1844. The blocks are now in the British Museum, and show plainly that they were not engraved by Dürer. This great pictorial scene of the fall and redemption of man begins with the sin of Adam and Eve, and their expulsion from Eden, and follows with thirty-three compositions from the life and passion of Christ, ending with the Descent of the Holy Ghost and the Last Judgment. Its title was *Figvræ Passionis Domini Nostri Jesv Christi;* and it was furnished with a set of the Latin verses of Chelidonius.

The third of Dürer's great works in wood-

engraving was "The Life of the Virgin," with explanatory Latin verses by the Benedictine Chelidonius. This was published in 1511, and contains twenty pictures, full of realistic plainness and domestic homeliness, yet displaying marvellous skill and power of invention. To the same year belong the master's engravings of the Trinity, St. Christopher, St. Gregory's Mass, St. Jerome, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, the Holy Family with the Guitar, Herodias and the Head of John the Baptist, and the Adoration of the Magi; and the copper-plates of the Crucifixion and the Virgin with the Pear.

Dürer was much afflicted by the boldness of many imitators, who plagiarized his engravings without stint, and flooded the market with pictures from his designs. His rights were protected but poorly by the edicts of the Emperor and the city of Nuremberg; and a swarm of parasitical copyists reproduced every fresh design as soon as it was published. Marc Antonio Raimondi, the great Italian engraver who worked so many years with Raphael, was the most dangerous of these plagiarists, and reproduced "The Little Passion" and "The Life of the Virgin" in

a most exquisite manner, close after their publication. Vasari says, "It happened that at this time certain Flemings came to Venice with a great many prints, engraved both in wood and copper by Albert Dürer, which being seen by Marc Antonio in the Square of St. Mark, he was so much astonished by their style of execution, and the skill displayed by Albert, that he laid out on those prints almost all the money he had brought with him from Bologna, and amongst other things purchased 'The Passion of Jesus Christ,' engraved on thirty-six wooden blocks. . . . Marc Antonio therefore, having considered how much honor as well as advantage might be acquired by one who should devote himself to that art in Italy, resolved to attend to it with the greatest diligence, and immediately began to copy these engravings of Albert, studying their mode of hatching, and every thing else in the prints he had purchased, which from their novelty as well as beauty, were in such repute that every one desired to possess them."

It appears that Marc Antonio was afterwards enjoined from using Dürer's monogram on his copies of the Nuremberger's engravings, either

by imperial diplomatic representations to the Italian courts, or else as the result of a visit which some claim that Dürer made to Italy for that purpose. Many of the copies of Marc Antonio were rather idealized adaptations than exact reproductions of the German's designs, but were furnished with the forged monogram A. D., and sold for Dürer's works. Sixty-nine of our artist's engravings were copied by the skilful Italian, profoundly influencing Southern art by the manual dexterity of the North. This wholesale piracy was carried on between 1505 and 1511, and before Marc Antonio passed under Raphael's overmastering influence.

In later years the Rath of Nuremberg warned the booksellers of the city against selling false copies of Dürer's engravings, and sent letters to the authorities of Augsburg, Leipsic, Frankfort, Strasbourg, and Antwerp, asking them to put a stop to such sales within their jurisdictions. His works have been copied by more than three hundred artists, the best of whom were Solis, Rota, the Hopfers, Wierx, Vischer, Schön, and Kraus.

In 1512 Dürer made most of the plates for

"The Passion in Copper," a series of sixteen engravings on copper, which was begun in 1507 and finished in 1513. These plates show the terrible scenes of the last griefs of the Saviour, surrounded with uncouth German men and women, buildings and landscapes, yet permeated with mysterious reverence and solemn simplicity. The series was never published in book form, with descriptive text, but the engravings were put forth singly as soon as completed. The prints of "Christ Bound" and "St. Jerome" were published this same year.

In 1512 Dürer was first employed by the Emperor Maximilian, who was not only a patron of the arts but also an artist himself, and munificently employed the best painters of Germany, though his treasury was usually but poorly filled. Science and literature also occupied much of his attention; and, while his realm was engaged in perpetual wars, he kept up a careful correspondence on profound themes with many of the foremost thinkers of his day. The records of his intercourse with Dürer are most meagre, though during the seven years of their connection they must have had many interviews, especially while the imperial portrait was being made.

Melanchthon tells a pretty story, which he heard from Dürer himself. One day the artist was finishing a sketch for the Emperor, who, while waiting, attempted to make a drawing himself with one of the charcoal-crayons; but the charcoal kept breaking away, and he complained that he could accomplish nothing with it. Dürer then took it from his hand, saying, "This is my sceptre, your Majesty;" and afterwards taught the sovereign how to use it.

The story which is told of so many geniuses who have risen from low estate is applied also to this one: The Emperor once declared to a noble who had proudly declined to perform some trivial service for the artist, "Out of seven ploughboys I can, if I please, make seven lords, but out of seven lords I cannot make one Dürer."

Tradition states that the Emperor ennobled Dürer, and gave him a coat-of-arms. Possibly this was the crest used in his later years, consisting of three shields on a blue field, above which is a closed helmet supporting the armless bust and head of a winged negro!

The idea of the immense woodcut of the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian was conceived

after 1512, either by the Emperor or by the poet-laureate Stabius; and Dürer was chosen to put it into execution. The history of the deeds of Maximilian, with his ancestry and family alliances, was to be displayed in the form of a pictorial triumphal arch, "after the manner of those erected in honor of the Roman emperors." The master demanded payment in advance, and received an order from the Emperor to the Rath of Nuremberg to hold "his and the Empire's true and faithful Albert Dürer exempt from all the town taxes and rates, in consideration of our esteem for his skill in art." But he surrendered this immunity, in deference to the wishes of the Rath; and Maximilian granted him an annual pension of 100 florins ($200), which was paid, however, somewhat reluctantly.

"The Knight, Death, and the Devil," is the most celebrated of Dürer's engravings, and dates from 1513. It shows a panoplied knight riding through a rocky defile, with white-bearded Death advancing alongside and holding up an hour-glass, and the loathsome Satan pursuing hard after and clutching at the undismayed knight. The numerous commentators on this picture variously

interpret its meaning, some saying that the knight is an evil-doer, intent on wicked purposes, whom Death warns to repentance, while Satan rushes to seize him; others, and the most, that he is the Christian man, fearless among the menaces of Death and Hell, and steadily advancing in spite of the horrible apparitions. Others claim that the Knight represents Franz von Sickingen, a turbulent hero of the Reformation; or Philip Ring, the Nuremberg herald, who was confronted by the Devil on one of his night-rides; or Dürer himself, beset by temptations and fears; or Stephen Baumgärtner, the master's friend, whose portrait bears a resemblance to the knight's face. Still another interpretation is given in the romance of "Sintram and his Companions," which was suggested by this engraving, as we are told by its author, La Motte Fouqué.

Kugler says: "I believe I do not exaggerate when I particularize this print as the most important work which the fantastic spirit of German art has ever produced." It was made in Dürer's blooming time, and the plate is a wonderful specimen of delicate and exquisite execution. It has frequently been copied, in many forms.

"The Little Crucifixion" is one of the most exquisitely finished of Dürer's engravings on copper, and is a small round picture, about one inch in diameter, which was made for an ornament on the pommel of the Emperor's sword. It contains seven figures, full of clearness and individuality, and engraved with marvellous skill. There are, fortunately, several very beautiful copies of this print. Other copper-plates of 1513 were "The Judgment of Paris," and the small round "St. Jerome."

The famous Baumgärtner altar-piece was painted for the patrician family of that name, as a votive picture, in thanksgiving for the safe return of its knightly members from the Swiss campaigns. Nuremberg unwillingly surrendered it to Maximilian of Bavaria, and it is now in the Munich Pinakothek. It consists of a central picture of "The Nativity," of no special merit, with two wings, the first of which shows Stephen Baumgärtner, a meagre-faced and resolute knight, in the character of St. George, while the other portrays the plain-mannered and practical Lucas Baumgärtner, in the garb of St. Eustachius. These excellent portrait-figures are clad in armor, and stand by the sides of their horses.

The "Vision of St. Eustachius" was executed on copper-plate, and is one of Dürer's most delicate and beautiful works. It shows the huntsman Eustachius as a strong and earnest German mystic, kneeling before the miraculous crucifix set in the stag's forehead, which has appeared to convict him of his sins, and to stimulate in him that faith by which he led a new life of prayer and praise, and won a martyr's crown. His solemn-faced horse seems to realize that a miracle is taking place; and in the foreground are five delicately drawn hounds. On the steep hill in the rear a noble and picturesque mediæval castle rears its battlemented towers above long lines of cliffs. Tradition says that the face of Eustachius is a portrait of the Emperor Maximilian. When the Emperor Rudolph secured the original plate of the engraving, he had it richly gilded.

"The Great Fortune," or "The Nemesis," is a copper-plate showing a repulsively ugly naked woman, with wings, holding a rich chalice and a bridle, while on the earth below is a beautiful mountain village between two confluent rivers. Sandrart says that this is the Hungarian village of Eytas, where Dürer's father was born; but

there is no proof of this theory. "The Coat-of-Arms with the Cock" is a fine copper-plate, with some obscure allegorical significance, representing, perhaps, Vigilance by the cock which stands on a closed helmet, and Faith by the rampant lion on the shield below.

CHAPTER V.

St. Jerome. — The Melencolia. — Death of Dürer's Mother. — Raphael. — Etchings. — Maximilian's Arch. — Visit to Augsburg.

THE copper-plate engraving of "St. Jerome in his Chamber" was executed in 1514, and is one of Dürer's three greatest works, a marvel of bril liancy and beauty, full of accurate detail and minute perfection. The saint has a grand and venerable head, firmly outlined against a white halo, and is sitting in a cheerful monastic room, lighted by the sun streaming through two large arched windows, while he writes at his desk, translating the Scriptures. In the foreground the lion of St. Jerome is drowsing, alongside a fat watch-dog; a huge pumpkin hangs from one of the oaken beams overhead; and patristic tomes and convenient German utensils are scattered about the room.

"The Virgin on the Crescent Moon" was a

copper-plate executed also in 1514, showing the graceful and charming Mary, treated with an idealism which almost suggests Raphael. This is one of the best of the seventeen Mary-pictures (*Marien-bilder*) which Dürer executed in copper. Other copper-plates of 1514 represented Sts. Paul and Thomas, the Bagpipe-Player, and a Dancing Rustic and his Wife.

"The Melencolia" is the most weirdly fascinating of Dürer's works, and the most mysterious and variously interpreted. It represents a woman, goddess, or devil, fully clad, and bearing keys and a purse at her girdle, her head wreathed with spleenwort, and great wings springing from her shoulders; the while she gazes intently, and with unutterable melancholy, into a magic crystal globe before her. On one side a drowsy Cupid is trying to write, near a ladder which rises from unseen depths to unimagined heights; and on the wall are the balanced scales, the astrological table of figures, the hour-glass running low, and the silent bell. The floor is strewn with scientific and necromantic instruments, and a great cube of strange form lies beyond. The prevailing gloom of the picture is but dimly lighted by a lurid and soli-

tary comet, whose rays shimmer along an expanse of black ocean, and are reflected from a firm-arched rainbow above. Across the alternately black and blazing sky flies a horrible bat-winged creature, bearing a scroll inscribed with the word MELENCOLIA, before the blank negations symbolized by the disastrous portent of the comet and the joyous sign of the rainbow.

Under the guise of this mystic black-browed woman the artist probably typifies the profound sorrow of the human soul, checked by Divine limitations from attaining a full knowledge of the secrets of nature or the wisdom of heaven. The discarded implements of natural and occult science are alike useless; and nought remains but gloomy introspection and a consciousness of insufficiency.

Dürer describes his mother's death with mournful tenderness and touching simplicity, saying: "Now you must know that in the year 1513, on a Tuesday in Cross-week, my poor unhappy mother, whom I had taken under my charge two years after my father's death, because she was then quite poor, and who had lived with me for nine years, was taken deathly sick on one morning

early, so that we had to break open her room; for we knew not, as she could not get up, what to do. So we bore her down into a room, and she had the sacraments in both kinds administered to her, for every one thought that she was going to die, for she had been failing in health ever since my father's death. And her custom was to go often to church; and she always punished me when I did not act rightly, and she always took great care to keep me and my brothers from sin; and, whether I went in or out, her constant word was, 'In the name of Christ;' and with great diligence she constantly gave us holy exhortations, and had great care over our souls. And her good works, and the loving compassion that she showed to every one, I can never sufficiently set forth to her praise. This my good mother bore and brought up eighteen children; she has often had the pestilence and many other dangerous and remarkable illnesses; has suffered great poverty, scoffing, disparagement, spiteful words, fears, and great reverses: yet she has never been revengeful. A year after the day on which she was first taken ill . . . my pious mother departed in a Christian manner, with all sacraments, absolved

by Papal power from pain and sin. She gave me her blessing, and desired for me God's peace, and that I should keep myself from evil. And she desired also St. John's blessing, which she had, and she said she was not afraid to come before God. But she died hard; and I perceived that she saw something terrible, for she kept hold of the holy water, and did not speak for a long time. I saw also how Death came, and gave her two great blows on the heart; and how she shut her eyes and mouth, and departed in great sorrow. I prayed for her, and had such great grief for her that I can never express. God be gracious to her! Her greatest joy was always to speak of God, and to do all to his honor and glory. And she was sixty-three years old when she died, and I buried her honorably according to my means. God the Lord grant that I also make a blessed end, and that God with his heavenly hosts, and my father, mother, and friend, be present at my end, and that the Almighty God grant us eternal life! Amen. And in her death she looked still more lovely than she was in her life."

In 1514 the prince of Italian painters and the

noblest of German artists exchanged pleasant civilities by correspondence, accompanied by specimens of their labors. Dürer sent to Raphael his own portrait, which was afterwards inherited and dearly prized by Giulio Romano. Raphael returned several of his own studies and drawings, one of which, showing two naked men drawn in red crayon, is now preserved in the Albertina at Vienna. It still bears Dürer's inscription: "Raphael of Urbino, who is so highly esteemed by the Pope, has drawn this study from the nude, and has sent it to Albert Dürer at Nuremberg, in order to show him his hand."

The invention of the art of etching has been generally attributed to Dürer, though it now seems that he merely improved and perfected the process. There are but few etchings in existence which can certainly be ascribed to him; and the chief of these, an "Ecce Homo" and "Christ in the Garden," date from 1515. The iron plate of the latter was found two centuries later, in a blacksmith's shop, where it was about to be made into horse-shoes. A third etching represents a frightfully homely woman being carried off by a man on a unicorn, a wild and incomprehensible com-

position, calculated to awaken an uncomfortable impression in the beholder. Some of the etchings were on iron, and others on pewter; but none were on copper, which was afterwards universally used. The corrosive nitrous acid acted inefficiently on the metals which he employed, and so his etchings fall short of excellence.

In 1514 Jorg Vierling uttered disgraceful libels and threats against Dürer, and finally attacked him in the street. He was imprisoned by the authorities; but the kind-hearted artist interceded for him, and he was released, after being bound over to keep the peace.

In the same year Dürer wrote to Herr Kress to see if the laureate Stabius had done any thing about his delayed pension; saying also, "But if Herr Stabius has done nothing in my matter, or my desire was too difficult for him to attain, then I pray of you to be my favorable lord to his Majesty. . . . Point out to his Majesty that I have served his Majesty for three years, that I have suffered loss myself from doing so, and that if I had not used my utmost diligence his ornamental work would never have been finished in such a manner; therefore I pray his Majesty to

reward me with the 100 guilders." In September an imperial decree was issued, giving Dürer his promised pension of $200 a year out of the tax due from Nuremberg to the Emperor. This annuity was paid to the artist until his death, with one short intermission.

Dürer executed for the Emperor a series of most fantastic and grotesque pen-drawings, on the borders of his prayer-book, now in the Munich town-library. Alongside the solemn sentences of the breviary are whimsical monkeys and pigs, Indians and men-at-arms, satyrs and foxes, screeching devils and saints, hens and prophets, martyrs and German crones, mingled in a weird wonderland, and not inappropriate according to mediæval ideas of taste. "The Great Column" is another quaint and inexplicable engraving, which Dürer did for the Emperor in 1517, and is composed of four blocks $5\frac{1}{3}$ feet high. It shows two naked angels holding a large turnip, from which springs a tall column with two horrible female monsters at the base, and a horned satyr at the top, holding long garlands.

The marvellous "Triumphal Arch of Maximil-

ian" is composed of ninety-two blocks, forming an immense woodcut ten and a half feet high and nine feet wide. It shows three great towers, under which are the three gates of Praise, Nobility, and Honor and Power, with the six chained harpies of temptation, and two vigilant Archdukes in armor, and figures holding garlands and crowns. The great genealogical tree rises above the figures that represent France, Sycambria, and Troy, and bears portrait-like half-figures of the twenty-six Christian princes from whom Maximilian claimed descent, with pictures of himself and his family. There are also twenty-four minutely delicate cuts, showing the most remarkable events in the Emperor's life, accompanied with rugged explanatory rhymes by the poet-laureate. Dr. von Eye says that "the extent and difficulty of the task appear to have called forth the powers of the artist to their highest exercise. In no work of Dürer's do we find more beautiful drawing than there is here. Each single piece might be taken out and prized as an independent work of art."

The master drew these very elaborate and intricate designs between 1512 and 1515; and the

enormous work of engraving them was devolved upon Hieronymus Rösch of Nuremberg. During its progress the Emperor frequently visited Rösch's house in the Fraüengässlein; and it became a town saying, that "The Emperor still drives often to Petticoat Lane." On one of his visits, a number of the artist's pet cats ran into his presence; whence, it is said, arose the proverb, "A cat may look at a King."

In 1516 Dürer painted a fine portrait of Wohlgemuth, now at Munich, showing a wrinkled old face lit up by bright eyes, and inscribed, "This portrait has Albert Dürer painted after his master Michael Wohlgemuth, in the year 1516, when he was 82 years old; and he lived until the year 1519, when he died, on St. Andrew's Day, early, before the sun had risen." About the same period he designed and partly executed the Pietà, which is now in the St. Maurice Gallery at Nuremberg; and carved a Virgin and Child standing on the crescent moon, similar to the one which he had engraved three years before.

In 1518 Dürer also painted the scene of the death-bed of the Empress Mary of Burgundy, under the title of "The Death of the Virgin,"

and on the order of Von Zlatko, the Bishop of Vienna. The Emperor Maximilian, Philip of Spain, Bishop Zlatko, and other notables, were shown around the couch. This large and important work was in the sale of the Fries collection in 1822, but cannot now be found, although there is a rumor that it is on the altar of a rural church near St. Wolfgang's Lake, in Upper Austria.

In 1518 Dürer visited Augsburg, during the session of the Diet of the Empire, and not only sold many of his engravings, but made a number of new sketches and portraits. His most important work on this journey was a portrait of the Emperor, who gave an order on the town of Nuremberg to pay 200 guldens "to the Emperor's and the Empire's dear and faithful Albert Dürer." On this picture the master inscribed, "This is the Emperor Maximilian, whom I, Albert Dürer, drew at Augsburg, in his little room high up in the imperial residence, in the year 1518, on the Monday after St. John the Baptist." About the same time the master painted the unpleasant picture of "The Suicide of Lucretia," now at Munich, showing an ill-formed nude woman of life size, said to have

been copied from Agnes Frey. The portrait of the witty and learned Lazarus Spengler dates from the same year.

When Maximilian died, the Rath of Nuremberg refused to continue the pension which he had granted to Dürer, though the artist addressed its members as "Provident, Honorable, Wise, Gracious, and Dear Lords," and enumerated his services to the dead Emperor. He also vainly demanded the payment of the imperial order for 200 florins, "to be paid to him as if to Maximilian himself, out of the town taxes due to the Emperor on St. Martin's Day," though he offered to leave his house in pledge, so that the town might lose nothing if the new Emperor refused to acknowledge the validity of the claim.

At the time of the death of Maximilian the great woodcut of "The Triumphal Arch" was unfinished, and the blocks remained in the hands of the engraver. Dürer and Rösch published a large round cut containing twenty-one of the historical scenes, as a memorial of the late sovereign, and this singular production speedily went through four editions. A few trial-impressions of the whole Arch had been struck off

before the Emperor's death, two of which are now at Copenhagen, one in the British Museum, and one at Stockholm. In 1559 the first edition of the entire Arch was printed at Vienna, at the request of the Archduke Ferdinand, and another edition was issued by Bartsch in 1799.

In 1519 Dürer published an excellent wood-engraving of the late Emperor Maximilian, with inscriptions recording his titles and the date of his death. It showed a pleasant face, full of strength and character. Among the painted portraits of Maximilian which are attributed to the master, the best is in the Vienna Belvedere; and another was in the late Northwick Collection, in England. A beautiful portrait in water-colors is in the library of the Erlangen University.

In 1519 Dürer also prepared an exquisitely finished copper-plate engraving of "St. Anthony," showing the meditative hermit before a background of a quaint mediæval city, very like Nuremberg, abounding in irregular gable-roofs and tall castle-towers. Several admirable copies of this work have been made.

CHAPTER VI.

Dürer's Tour in the Netherlands. — His Journal. — Cologne. — Feasts at Antwerp and Brussels. — Procession of Notre Dame. — The *Confirmatia*. — Zealand Journey. — Ghent. — Martin Luther.

DÜRER'S famous tour to the Netherlands began in the summer of 1520, and continued until late in 1521. His main object appears to have been to secure from Charles V. a confirmation of the pension which the Emperor Maximilian had granted him, since the Rath of Nuremberg had refused to deliver any further sums until he could obtain such a ratification. Possibly he also hoped to obtain the position of court-painter, to which Titian was afterwards appointed. Several biographers say that Dürer made the journey in order to get a respite from his wife's tirades; but this is unlikely, since he took her and her maid Susanna with him. The Archduchess Margaret, daughter of the late Emperor Maximilian and aunt of Charles V., was at Brussels, acting

as Regent of the Netherlands; and Dürer made strong but ineffectual attempts to secure her good graces.

Dürer's journal of his tour is a combination of cash-account, itinerary, memoranda, and note-book, and would fill about fifty of these pages. It is usually barren of reflections, opinions, or prolonged descriptions; and is but a terse and business-like record of facts and expenses, rich only in its revelations of mediæval Flemish hospitality and municipal customs, and certain personal habits of the writer. The greatest impression seems to have been made upon the traveller by the enormous wealth of the Low Countries, and the adjective "costly" continually recurs. The new-found treasures of America were then pouring a stream of gold into the Flemish cities, and manufactures and commerce were in full prosperity. The devastating storm of Alva's Spanish infantry had not yet swept over the doomed but heroic Netherlands; and her great cities basked in peace, prosperity, and wealth.

"On the Thursday after Whitsuntide, I, Albert Dürer, at my own cost and responsibility, set out with my wife from Nuremberg for the Nether-

lands. . . . I went on to Bamberg, where I gave the Bishop a picture of the Virgin, 'The Life of the Virgin,' an Apocalypse, and other engravings of the value of a florin. He invited me to dinner, and gave me an exemption from customs, and three letters of recommendation." He hired a carriage to take him to Frankfort for eight florins of gold, and received a parting stirrup-cup from Meister Benedict, and the painter Hans Wolfgang Katzheimer. He gives the names of the forty-three villages through which he passed along the route by Würzburg and Carlstadt to Frankfort, with his expenditures for food and for gifts to servants; and tells how the Bishop's letter freed him from paying tolls. At Frankfort he was cheaply entertained by Jacob Heller, for whom he had painted "The Coronation of the Virgin." From thence he descended by boat to Mayence, where he received many gifts and attentions. In the river-passages hence to Cologne, he was forced to haul in shore and arrange his tolls at Ehrenfels, Bacharach, Caub, St. Goar, and Boppart. At Cologne he was entertained by his cousin Nicholas Dürer, who had learned the goldsmith's trade in the shop of Albert's father,

and was now settled in business. The master made presents to him and his wife. The Barefooted Monks gave Dürer a feast at their monastery; and Jerome Fugger presented him with wine. The journey was soon resumed; and the master passed through fourteen villages, and at last reached Antwerp, where he was feasted by the factor of the illustrious Fugger family. Jobst Planckfelt was Dürer's host while he remained in the city, and showed him the Burgomaster's Palace and other sights of Antwerp, besides introducing him to Quentin Matsys and other eminent Flemish artists.

"On St. Oswald's Day, the painters invited me to their hall, with my wife and maid; and every thing there was of silver and other costly ornamentation, and extremely costly viands. There were also all their wives there; and when I was conducted to the table all the people stood up on each side, as if I had been a great lord. There were amongst them also many persons of distinction, who all bowed low, and in the most humble manner testified their pleasure at seeing me, and they said they would do all in their power to give me pleasure. And, as I sat at table, there came

in the messenger of the Rath of Antwerp, who presented me with four tankards of wine in the name of the Magistrates; and he said that they desired to honor me with this, and that I should have their good-will. . . . And for a long time we were very merry together until quite late in the night; then they accompanied us home with torches in the most honorable manner, and they begged us to accept their good-will, and said they would do whatever I desired that might be of assistance to me. Then I thanked them, and went to bed."

He next speaks of making portraits of his friend the Portuguese consul, his host Planckfelt, and the musician Felix Hungersberg; and keeps account of his sales of paintings and engravings, on the same pages which record his junketings with various notable men. He dined with one of the Imhoffs and with Meister Joachim Patenir, the landscape-painter, with whom he had certain professional transactions. He soon became intimately acquainted with the three Genoese brothers, Tomasin, Vincent, and Gerhartus Florianus, with whom he dined many times, and for whom he drew several portraits. He also met

the great scholar and half-way reformer, Erasmus, who gave him several pleasing presents.

"Our Lady's Church at Antwerp is so immensely big, that many masses may be sung in it at one time without interfering with each other; and it has altars and rich foundations, and the best musicians that it is possible to have. The church has many devout services, and stone work, and particularly a beautiful tower. And I have also been to the rich Abbey of St. Michael, which has the costly stone seat in its choir. And at Antwerp they spare no cost about such things, for there is money enough there."

He made portraits of Nicholas Kratzer, then professor of astronomy at Oxford University; Hans Plaffroth; and Tomasin's daughter; and gave several score of his engravings to the Portuguese consul and to his compatriot Ruderigo, who had sent a large quantity of sweetmeats to the artist, and a green parrot to his wife.

Something of diplomatic tact is shown in Dürer's making presents to Meister Gillgen, the Emperor's door-keeper, and to Meister Conrad, the sculptor of the Archduchess Margaret. He seems to have been preparing to seek an invitation to court.

In September Dürer and Tomasin journeyed to Mechlin, where they invited Meister Conrad and one of his artist-friends to a supper. The next day they passed through Vilvorde, and came to Brussels. Here the master was introduced to a new and splendid society and a city rich in works of art. He speaks of dining with "My Lord of Brussels," the Imperial Councillor Bannisius, and the ambassadors of Nuremberg; and Bernard van Orley, formerly a pupil of Raphael and now court-painter to the Regent Margaret, invited him to a feast at which he met the Regent's treasurer, the royal court-master, and the town-treasurer of Brussels. He also visited the Margrave of Anspach and Baireuth, with a letter of introduction from the Bishop of Bamberg; and drew portraits of Meister Conrad, Bernard van Orley, and several others. The Regent Margaret received him "with especial kindness," and promised to use her influence for his advancement at the imperial court. He presented copies of the Passion to her and her treasurer, and many other engravings to other eminent persons in the city.

"And I have seen King Charles's house at Brussels, with its fountains, labyrinth, and park

It gave me the greatest pleasure; and a more delightful thing, and more like a Paradise, I have never before seen. . . . At Brussels there is a very big and costly Town-hall, built of hewn stone, with a splendid transparent tower. I have seen in the Golden Hall the four painted matters which the great Meister Rudier [Roger van der Weyden] has done. . . . I have also been into the Nassau-house, which is built in such a costly style and so beautifully ornamented. And I saw the two beautiful large rooms and all the costly things in the house everywhere, and also the great bed in which fifty men might lie; and I have also seen the big stone which fell in a thunderstorm in the field close to the Count of Nassau. This house is very high, and there is a fine view from it, and it is much to be admired; and I do not think in all Germany there is any thing like it. . . . Also I have seen the thing which has been brought to the King from the new Golden Land [Mexico], a sun of gold a fathom broad, and a silver moon just as big. Likewise two rooms full of armor; likewise all kinds of arms, harness, and wonderful missiles, very strange clothing, bed-gear and all kinds of the most

wonderful things for man's use, that are as beautiful to behold as they are wonderful. These things are all so costly, that they have been valued at 100,000 gulden. And I have never in all the days of my life seen any thing that has so much rejoiced my heart as these things. For I have seen among them wonderfully artistic things, and I have wondered at the subtle *Ingenia* of men in foreign lands."

While at Brussels Dürer was the guest of Conrad the sculptor, and Ebner the Nuremberg ambassador. He returned at length to Antwerp, where his Portuguese friends sent him several maiolica bowls and some Calcutta feathers, and his host gave also certain Indian and Turkish curiosities. The jovial dinners with Planckfelter and Tomasin were again begun, and were supplemented by feasts with the Von Rogendorffs and Fugger's agent. The master gave away hundreds of his engravings here, either to his friends or to influential courtiers; and all these details he faithfully records. He seems to have been an indefatigable investigator and collector of curiosities, imported trinkets, and china. With childlike delight he narrates the brilliant spectacles around him.

"I have seen, on the Sunday after the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, the great procession from Our Lady's Church at Antwerp, when the whole town was assembled, artisans and people of rank, every one dressed in the most costly manner according to its station. Every class and every guild had its badge by which it might be recognized; large and costly tapers were also borne by some of them. There were also long silver trumpets of the old Frankish fashion. There were also many German pipers and drummers, who piped and drummed their loudest. Also I saw in the street, marching in a line in regular order, with certain distances between, the goldsmiths, painters, stonemasons, embroiderers, sculptors, joiners, carpenters, sailors, fishmongers, . . . and all kinds of artisans who are useful in producing the necessaries of life. In the same way there were the shopkeepers and merchants and their clerks. After these came the marksmen with firelocks, bows, and cross-bows, some on horseback and some on foot. After that came the City Guards; and at last a mighty and beautiful throng of different nations and religious orders, superbly costumed, and each distinguished

from the other, very piously. I remarked in this procession a troop of widows who lived by their labor. They all had white linen cloths covering their heads, and reaching down to their feet, very seemly to behold. Behind them I saw many brave persons, and the canons of Our Lady's Church, with all the clergy and bursars, where twenty persons bore Our Lady with the Lord Jesus ornamented in the most costly manner to the glory of the Lord God. In this procession there were many very pleasant things, and it was very richly arranged. There were brought along many wagons, with moving ships, and other things. Then followed the Prophets, all in order; the New Testament, showing the Salutation of the Angel, the three Holy Kings on their camels, and other rare wonders very beautifully arranged. . . . At the last came a great dragon led by St. Margaret and her maidens, who were very pretty; also St. George, with his squire, a very handsome Courlander. Also a great many boys and girls, dressed in the most costly and ornamental manner, according to the fashion of different countries, rode in this troop, and represented so many saints. This procession from

beginning to end was more than two hours passing by our house ; and there were so many things that I could never write them all down even in a book, and so I leave it alone."

Raphael died during this year, and Dürer made strenuous efforts to secure some of his drawings or other remains. He met Tommaso Vincidore of Bologna, a pupil of the great master, and gave him an entire set of his best engravings for an antique gold ring, and another set to be sent to Rome in exchange for some of Raphael's sketches. He also gave a complete set of his engravings to the Regent Margaret, and made for her two careful drawings on parchment. Vincidore painted his portrait, to be sent to Rome ; and it was engraved by Adrian Stock, showing his glorious eyes and long flowing hair, together with a short dense beard overshadowed by a massive moustache, curled back at the points.

Later in the autumn Dürer journeyed to Aix-la-Chapelle where he attended the splendid ceremonies of the coronation of the Emperor Charles V. At Aix he saw the famous columns brought from Rome by Charlemagne, the arm of Kaiser Henry, the chemise and girdle of the Virgin

Mary, and other relics. His wife was back at Antwerp; and so the reckless artist chronicles his outlays for drinking, gaming, and other reprehensible expenses. After being entertained for three weeks at the Nuremberg embassy, Dürer went to Cologne, where he remained a fortnight, distributing his engravings with generous hand, visiting the churches and their pictures, and buying all manner of odd things. Early in November, by the aid of the Nuremberg ambassadors, he obtained from the Emperor his *Confirmatia*, "with great trouble and labor." This coveted document, which formed one of the main objects of his journey to the North, confirmed him in the pension which Maximilian had granted him, and made him painter to the Emperor.

From Cologne he returned with all speed down the river to Antwerp, being entertained at Bois-le-Duc, "a pretty town, which has an extraordinarily beautiful church," by the painter Arnold de Ber and the goldsmiths, "who showed me very much honor." On arriving at Antwerp, he resumes his accounts of the sales and gifts of his engravings, and the enumeration of his domestic expenses. Soon afterward he heard of a mon-

strous whale being thrown up on the Zealand coast, and posted off in December to see it, taking a vessel from Bergen-op-Zoom, of whose well-built houses and great markets he speaks. "We sailed before sunset by a village, and saw only the points of the roofs projecting out of the water; and we sailed for the island of Wohlfärtig [Walcheren], and for the little town of Sunge in another adjacent island. There were seven islands; and Ernig, where I passed the night, is the largest. From thence we went to Middleburg, where I saw in the abbey the great picture that Johann de Abus [Mabuse] had done. The drawing is not so good as the painting. After that we came to Fahr, where ships from all lands unload: it is a fine town. But at Armuyden a great danger befell me; for just as we were going to land, and our ropes were thrown out, there came a large ship alongside of us, and I was about to land, but there was such a press that I let every one land before me, so that nobody but I, Georg Kotzler, two old women, and the skipper with one small boy, were left in the ship. And when I and the above-named persons were on board, and could not get on shore, then the

heavy cable broke, and a strong wind came on, which drove our ship powerfully before it. Then we all cried loudly for help, but no one ventured to give it; and the wind beat us out again to sea. . . . Then there was great anxiety and fear; for the wind was very great, and not more than six persons on board. But I spoke to the skipper, and told him to take heart, and put his trust in God, and consider what there was to be done. Then he said he thought, if we could manage to hoist the little sail, he would try whether we could not get on. So with great difficulty, and working all together, we got it half way up, and sailed on again; and when those on the land saw this, and how we were able to help ourselves, they came and gave us assistance, so that we got safely to land. Middleburg is a good town, and has a very beautiful Town-house with a costly tower. And there are also many things there of old art. There is an exceedingly costly and beautiful seat in the abbey, and a costly stone aisle, and a pretty parish church. And in other respects also the town is very rich in subjects for sketches. Zealand is pretty and marvellous to see, on account of the water, which is higher than the land."

The tide had carried off the stranded whale; and so Dürer returned to Antwerp, staying a few days at Bergen. Soon afterwards he gave Von Rafensburg three books of fine engravings in return for five snail-shells, nine medals, four arrows, two pieces of white coral, two dried fish, and a scale of a large fish. Improvident collector of curiosities! how did the matronly Agnes endure such tradings? Many dinners with the Genoese Tomasin are then recorded, and fresh collations with new friends, in the hearty and hospitable spirit of the easy-living Netherlanders. He repaid the quaint presents of his admirers with many copies of his engravings, and occasionally made some money in the practice of his profession.

"On Shrove Tuesday early the goldsmiths invited me and my wife to dinner. There were many distinguished people assembled, and we had an extremely costly meal, and they did me exceeding much honor; and in the evening the senior magistrate of the town invited me, and gave me a costly meal, and showed me much honor. And there came in many strange masks." He then records his exchanges of

engravings for such singular returns as satin, candied citron, ivory salt-cellars from Calcutta, sea-shells, monk's electuary, sweetmeats in profusion, porcelains, an ivory pipe, coral, boxing-gloves, a shield, lace, fishes' fins, sandal-wood, &c. The Portuguese ambassador invited him to a rich Carnival feast, where there were "many very costly masks;" and the learned Petrus Ægĭdius entertained him and Erasmus of Rotterdam together. He climbed up the cathedral tower, and "saw over the whole town from it, which was very agreeable." Many of the curiosities which he had acquired were sent as presents to Pirkheimer, the Imhoffs, the Holzschuhers, and other noble friends in Nuremberg. Arion, the ex-Pensionary of Antwerp, gave him a feast, and presented him with Patenir's painting of "Lot and his Daughters."

Soon after Easter, Dürer made another pleasant tour in the Netherlands, attended by the painter Jan Plos, passing by "the rich Abbey of Pol," and "the great long village of Kahlb," to "the splendid and beautiful town" of Bruges. Plos and the goldsmith Marx each gave him costly feasts, and showed him the Emperor's palace,

the Archery Court, and many paintings by Roger van der Weyden, Hubert and Jan van Eyck, and Hugo van der Goes, together with an alabaster Madonna by Michael Angelo. "We came at last to the Painters' Chapel, where there are many good things. After that they prepared a banquet for me. And from thence I went with them to their guild, where many honorable folk, goldsmiths, painters, and merchants, were assembled; and they made me sup with them, and did me great honor. And the Rath gave me twelve measures of wine; and the whole assembly, more than sixty persons, accompanied me home with torches.

"And when I arrived at Ghent, the chief of the painters met me, and he brought with him all the principal painters of the town; and they showed me great honor, and received me in very splendid style, and they assured me of their good-will and service; and I supped that evening with them. On Wednesday early they took me to St. John's Tower, from which I saw over all the great and wonderful town. After that I saw Johann's picture [Van Eyck's "Adoration of the Spotless Lamb"]. It is a very rich and grandly conceived

painting; and particularly Eve, the Virgin Mary, and God the Father, are excellent. . . . Ghent is a beautiful and wonderful town, and four great waters flow through it. And I have besides seen many other very strange things at Ghent, and the painters with their chief have never left me; and I have eaten morning and night with them, and they have paid for every thing, and have been very friendly with me."

The master soon returned to Antwerp, in distress. "In the third week after Easter a hot fever attacked me, with great faintness, discomfort, and headache. And when I was in Zealand, some time back, a wonderful illness came upon me, which I had never heard of any one having before; and this illness I have still." This low fever never quite left him, and was the cause of many doctor's bills thereafter. Soon afterward he made a portrait of the landscape-painter Joachim Patenir; and "on the Sunday before Cross-week, Meister Joachim invited me to his wedding, and they all showed me much respect; and I saw two very pretty plays there, particularly the first, which was very pious and clerical."

Dürer seems to have had strong Protestant

sympathies, though it is claimed that he died in the faith of Rome. His journal in 1521 contains the following significant sentences about Martin Luther: "He was a man enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and a follower of the true Christian faith. . . . He has suffered much for Christ's truth, and because he has rebuked the unchristian Papacy which strives against the freedom of Christ with its heavy burdens of human laws; and for this we are robbed of the price of our blood and sweat, that it may be expended shamefully by idle, lascivious people, whilst thirsty and sick men perish of hunger. . . . Lord Jesus Christ, call together again the sheep of thy fold, of whom part are still to be found amongst the Indians, Muscovites, Russians, and Greeks, who through the burdens and avarice of the Papacy have been separated from us. Never were any people so horribly burdened with ordinances as us poor people by the Romish See; we who, redeemed by thy blood, ought to be free Christians.

"O God, is Luther dead? Who will henceforth explain to us so clearly the holy Gospel? O all pious Christian men, bewail with me this God-inspired man, and pray to God to send us another

enlightened teacher! O Erasmus of Rotterdam, where dost thou remain? Behold how the unjust tyranny of this world's might and the powers of darkness prevail! Hear, thou knight of Christ; ride forth in the name of the Lord, defend the truth, attain the martyr's crown; thou art already an old manikin, and I have heard thee say that thou gavest thyself only two years longer in which thou wilt still be fit for work. Employ these well, then, in the cause of the Gospel and the true Christian faith."

More junketings, gamings, collecting of outlandish things, visits to religious and civic pageants, new sketches and paintings, doctor's bills and monk's fees, minutely recorded. "Meister Gerhard, the illuminator, has a daughter of eighteen years, called Susanna; and she has illuminated a plate, a Saviour, for which I gave a florin. It is a great wonder that a woman should do so well! . . . I have again and again done sketches and many other things in the service of different persons, and for the most part of my work I have received nothing at all."

After Corpus Christi Day, Dürer sent off several bales of his acquisitions to Nuremberg, by the

wagoner Cunz Mez. He and his wife then went to Mechlin; "and the painters and sculptors entertained me at my inn, and showed me great honor; and I went to Popenreuther's house, the cannon-founder, and found many wonderful things there. I have also seen the Lady Margaret [the Archduchess and Regent], and carried the portrait of the Emperor, which I intended to present to her; but she took such a displeasure therein, I brought it away with me again. And on the Friday she showed me all her beautiful things, and amongst them I saw forty small pictures in oil, pure and good: I have never seen finer miniatures. And then I saw other good things of Johann's [Van Eyck] and Jacob Walch's. I begged my Lady to give me Meister Jacob's little book, but she said she had promised it to her painter."

Dürer seems to have been treated with scant courtesy by the Archduchess, and soon returned to Antwerp. Here he was entertained by the eminent Lucas van Leyden, for whom he made a portrait, and received one of himself in return. The stately Nuremberger and the diminutive artist of Leyden were much astonished at each

other's personal appearance, but had a warm mutual respect and esteem. Dürer next struck up a warm friendship with certain of the Augustine monks, and dined often at their cloister. In addition to the *bric-à-brac* which he still continued to collect, he now began to buy precious stones, in which he was badly swindled by a Frenchman, and dolefully wrote, "I am a fool at a bargain."

He was now about to return home, and naturally found it necessary, after having bought such a museum of oddities and curiosities, to borrow enough money to take him to Nuremberg. His friend Alexander Imhoff lent him 100 gold florins, receiving Dürer's note in return. In some bitterness of spirit he wrote: "In all my transactions in the Netherlands, with people both of high and low degree, and in all my doings, expenses, sales, and other trafficking, I have always had the disadvantage; and particularly the Lady Margaret, for all I have given her and done for her, has given me nothing in return."

On the eve of Dürer's departure, the King of Denmark, Christian II., came to Antwerp, and not only had the master draw his portrait, but also invited him to a dinner. He then went to

Brussels, on business for his new royal patron, and was present at the pompous reception and banquet with which the Emperor and the Archduchess Margaret received the Danish King. Soon afterwards the King invited Dürer to the feast which he gave to the Emperor and Archduchess; and then had his portrait painted in oil-colors, paying thirty florins for it. After a sojourn of eight days in Brussels, the master and his wife went south to Cologne, spending four long days on the road; and soon afterwards prolonged their journey to Nuremberg.

The municipality of Antwerp had offered him a house and a liberal pension, to remain in that city; but he declined these, being content with his prospects and his noble friends in Franconia.

CHAPTER VII.

Nuremberg's Reformation. — The Little Masters. — Glass-Painting. — Architecture. — Letter to the City Council. — "Art of Mensuration." — Portraits. — Melanchthon.

WHAT a commotion must Dürer's return have caused in Nuremberg, with his commission as court-painter, and his bales and crates of rarities from America and India and all Europe! The presents which he had brought for so many of his friends must have given the liveliest delight, and afforded amusement for months to the Sodalitas Literaria and the Rath-Elders.

In the mean time the purifying storm of the Reformation was sweeping over Germany, and the people were in times of great doubt and perplexity. Nuremberg was the first of the free cities of the Empire to pronounce herself Protestant, though the change was effected with so much order and moderation that no iconoclastic fury was allowed to dilapidate its churches and con-

vents. Pirkheimer and Spengler were excommunicated by the Pope, though their calm conservatism had curbed the fanatical fury of the puritans, and saved the Catholic art-treasures of the Franconian capital.

It is a significant fact that Dürer, during the last six years of his life, made no more Madonnas, and but one Holy Family. The era of Mariolatry had passed, so far as Nuremberg was concerned. Yet, during the year of his return from the Netherlands, he made two engravings of St. Christopher bearing the Holy Child safely above the floods and through the storms, as if to indicate that Christianity would be carried through all its disasters by an unfailing strength.

During the remaining six years of his life Dürer's art-works were limited to a few portraits and engravings, and the great pictures of the Four Apostles. Much of his time was devoted to the publication of the fruits of his long experience, in several literary treatises, most of which are now lost. His broken health would not allow of continuous work, as the inroads of insidious disease slowly wasted his strength and eat away his vitality.

The Little Masters were a group of artists who were formed in the studio or under the influence of Dürer, shining as a bright constellation of genius in the twilight of German art. Among these were the Bavarian Altdorfer, who combined in his brilliant paintings and engravings both fantasy and romanticism; the Westphalian Aldegrever, a laborious painter and a prolific engraver; Barthel Beham, who afterwards studied with and counterfeited the works of Marc Antonio in Italy; Hans Sebald Beham, who illustrated lewd fables and prayer-books with equal skill and relish, and was finally driven from Nuremberg; Jacob Binck of Cologne, a neat and accurate draughtsman, who removed to Rome, and engraved Raphael's works under the supervision of Marc Antonio; George Pensz, who also studied under the great Italian engraver, and executed 126 fine prints, besides several paintings. Other assistants and pupils of Dürer, of whom little but their names are now remembered, were Hans Brosamer of Fulda, and Hans Springinklee. Hans von Culmbach was a careful follower, who surpassed his master in love of nature and her warm and harmonious colors. The

Tucher altar-piece in St. Sebald's Church was his master-picture. Contemporary with the Nuremberg painter, Matthew Grunewald was doing excellent work at Aschaffenburg, in northern Franconia. Among the German artists of his time, he was surpassed only by Dürer and Holbein.

The Diet of the Empire was held at Nuremberg in 1522, and the Rath-haus was repainted and decorated for its sessions. Dürer was paid 100 florins for his share in this work, although it is not known what it was. The best of the paintings were executed by his pupil, George Pensz, and it is probable that the master furnished some of the designs.

Although our artist held a pension from the Emperor as his court-painter, his services seem to have never been called into requisition. Charles spent but little time at Nuremberg, and while yet in his youth had no care for seeing himself portrayed on canvas. It was after the master's death that the Emperor first met Titian, and retained him as court-painter.

In 1522 Dürer published at his own cost the first edition of the Triumphal Car of Kaiser

Maximilian, a woodcut whose labored and ponderous allegorical idea was conceived by Pirkheimer, designed in detail by Dürer, and engraved by Rösch on eight blocks, forming a picture 7½ feet long by 1½ feet high. The Emperor is shown seated in a chariot, surrounded by female figures representing the abstract virtues, while the leaders of the twelve horses, and even the wheels and reins, have magniloquent Latin names. Maximilian was greatly interested in this work, but died before its completion. The first edition was accompanied by explanatory German text, and the second by Latin descriptions.

The large woodcut of Ulrich Varnbühler, whom Dürer calls his "single friend," is one of the master's best works, and was printed over with three blocks, to produce a chiaroscuro. A little later, he made two copper-plates of the Cardinal Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg and Mayence.

In 1523, while under the influence of the art-schools of the Lower Rhine, the master painted the pictures of Sts. Joachim and Joseph and St. Simeon and Bishop Lazarus, small figures on a gold ground.

Dürer's Family Relation records that, "My

dear mother-in-law took ill on Sunday, Aug. 18, 1521; and on Sept. 29, at nine of the night, she died piously. And in 1523, on the Feast of the Presentation, early in the morning, died my father-in-law, Hans Frey. He had been ill for six years, and had his share of troubles in his time." They were buried in St. John's Cemetery, in the same lot where the remains of their illustrious son-in-law were afterwards laid.

It is said that Dürer largely occupied himself with glass-painting, during the earlier part of his career; and he probably designed much for the workers in stained glass then in Upper Germany and the Low Countries. Lacroix says that he produced twenty windows for the Temple Church at Paris; and Holt attributes to him the church-windows at Fairford, near Cirencester.

As an architect Albert executed but few works, and only a slight record remains to our day. He made two plans for the Archduchess Margaret, and another for the house of her physician. Heideloff has proved that the gallery of the Gessert house at Nuremberg was built by Dürer, in a strange combination of geometric and Renaissance forms.

Pirkheimer's portrait was engraved in 1524, showing a gross and heavy face, obese to the last degree, and verifying in its physiognomy the probability that the playful innuendoes in Dürer's Venetian letters were well grounded. It is not easy to see how such a spirit, learned in all the sciences of the age, and in close communion with Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Ulrich von Hutten, could have worn such a drooping mask of flesh. In the same year, Dürer published an engraved portrait of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, the supporter of Luther and the political leader of the Reformation. The head is admirably drawn and full of character, with firmness plainly indicated by strongly compressed lips.

The following letter to the Council of Nuremberg was written in the year 1524:—

"Provident, Honorable, Wise, and Most Favorable Lords,—By my works and with the help of God, I have acquired 1,000 florins of the Rhine, and I would now willingly lay them by for my support. Although I know that it is not the custom with your Wisdoms to pay high interest, and that you have refused to give one florin in twenty; yet I am moved by my necessity, by

the particularly favorable regard which your Wisdoms have ever shown towards me, and also by the following causes, to beg this thing of your Honors. Your Wisdoms know that I have always been obedient, willing, and diligent in all things done for your Wisdoms, and for the common State, and for other persons of the Rath, and that the State has always had my help, art, and work, whenever they were needed, and that without payment rather than for money; for I can write with truth, that, during the thirty years that I have had a house in this town, I have not had 500 guldens' worth of work from it, and what I have had has been poor and mean, and I have not gained the fifth part for it that it was worth; but all that I have earned, which God knows has only been by hard toil, has been from princes, lords, and other foreign persons. Also I have expended all my earnings from foreigners in this town. Also your Honors doubtless know that, on account of the many works I had done for him, the late Emperor Maximilian, of praiseworthy memory, out of his own imperial liberality granted me an exemption from the rates and taxes of this town, which, however, I voluntarily

gave up, when I was spoken to about it by the Elders of the Rath, in order to show honor to my Lords, and to maintain their favor and uphold their customs and justice.

"Nineteen years ago the Doge of Venice wrote to me, offering me 200 ducats a year if I would live in that city. More lately the Rath of Antwerp, while I remained in the Low Countries, also made me an offer, 300 florins of Philippe a year, and a fair mansion to live in. In both places all that I did for the Government would have been paid over and above the pension. All of which, out of my love for my honorable and wise Lords, for this town, and for my Fatherland, I refused, and chose rather to live simply, near your Wisdoms, than to be rich and great in any other place. It is therefore my dutiful request to your Lordships, that you will take all these things into your favorable consideration, and accept these thousand florins (which I could easily lay out with other worthy people both here and elsewhere, but which I would rather know were in the hands of your Wisdoms), and grant me a yearly interest upon them of fifty florins, so that I and my wife, who are daily growing old,

weak, and incapable, may have a moderate provision against want. And I will ever do my utmost to deserve your noble Wisdoms' favor and approbation, as heretofore."

This touching letter shows the poverty of Dürer's savings, and his sad feeling that he had lived as a prophet without honor in his own country. It produced the desired effect, and brought him five per cent on his little capital, though after his death the Council hastened to reduce it to four per cent.

Dürer's wide study and remarkable versatility, rivalling that of Leonardo da Vinci, found further expression in literary work. Camerarius states that he wrote a hundred and fifty different treatises, showing a marked proficiency in several of the sciences. His first work was entitled "Instruction in the Art of Mensuration," &c., and was published in 1525 for the use of young painters. It is composed of four books, treating of the practical use of geometrical instruments, and the drawing of volutes, Roman letters, and winding stairs; and is illustrated by numerous woodcuts. The fourth book elucidates the idea of perspective, and contains pictures of an instru-

ment devised by the author, "which will be found particularly useful to persons who are not sure of drawing correctly." This was not the only invention of Dürer's; for there still exists a small model of a gun-carriage in wood and iron, made by him, and exhibiting certain improvements which he had designed and advocated. "The Art of Mensuration" was a successful book, and passed through one Latin and three German editions.

The finest of Dürer's works in portraiture was executed in 1526, and represents the grand old Jerome Holzschuher, one of the chief rulers of the city, with all the strength and keenness of his heroic nature lighting up the canvas. Enormous sums have been offered for this work; but it is still faithfully preserved in Nuremberg, and retains its original rich and vivid coloring. Another fine portrait, "like an antique bust," now in the Vienna Belvedere, shows Johann Kleeberger, the generous and charitable man who was known abroad as "the good German." Still another portrait of this year was that of the Burgomaster Jacob Müffel, a well-modelled and carefully executed likeness of one of the

master's best friends. Two very famous engravings of this date portray Erasmus of Rotterdam and Philip Melanchthon. Erasmus is represented as a venerable scholar, sitting at a desk, with a pen in his hand and a soft cap on his head; and the engraving is remarkable for its admirable execution and strong character. Still, the old philosopher was not pleased with it, and sent to Sir Thomas More his portrait by Holbein, which, he said, "is much more like me than the one by the famous Albert Dürer." When Erasmus first saw the picture he said, "Oh! if I still resemble that Erasmus, I may look out for getting married," as if it gave him too young an appearance.

In 1526 the wise and noble-hearted Melanchthon came to Nuremberg to establish a Protestant Latin school, and formed a close intimacy with the master, whose tender and dreamy spirit was so like his own. During their constant intercourse, the artist became strengthened and comforted in the mild and pure doctrines of the true reformation, and was quietly yet strongly influenced to abandon even the forms of Catholicism which still remained. Dürer published a fine engraving of this friend of his last

years on earth, showing delicately chiselled features, with large and tender eyes and a lofty forehead.

Melanchthon wrote that in one of his frequent conversations with Dürer, the artist explained the great change which his methods had undergone, saying, "In his youth he was fond of a florid style and great combination of colors, and that in looking at his own work he was always delighted to find this diversity of coloring in any of his pictures; but afterwards in his mature years he began to look more entirely to nature, and tried to see her in her simplest form. Then he found that this simplicity was the true perfection of art; and, not attaining this, he did not care for his works as formerly, but often sighed when he looked at his pictures and thought of his incapacity."

CHAPTER VIII.

"The Four Apostles." — Dürer's Later Literary Works. — Four Books of Proportion. — Last Sickness and Death. — Agnes Dürer. — Dürer described by a Friend.

SCHLEGEL says that "Albert Dürer may be called the Shakespeare of Painting;" and it is doubtless true that he filled out the narrow capabilities of early German art with a full measure of deep and earnest thought and powerful originality. The equal homage which was offered to him at Venice and Antwerp, the two art-antipodes, shows how highly he was regarded in his own day. His earlier works were executed in the crude and angular methods of Wohlgemuth and his contemporaries; and most of the pictures now attributed to him, often incorrectly, are of this character. But in his later works he swung clear of these trammelling archaisms, and produced brilliant and memorable compositions.

"The Four Apostles," now in the Munich

Pinakothek, were Dürer's last and noblest works, and fairly justify Pirkheimer's assurance, that if he had lived longer the master would have done "many more wonderful, strange, and artistic things." They are full of grand thought and clear insight, free from exaggeration or conventionalism, perfect in execution and harmonious simplicity, and so distinct in individuality that it has been generally believed that the Four Temperaments are here impersonated. On one panel are Sts. John and Peter, in life-size, the former deeply meditating, with the Scriptures in his hand, and the latter bending forward and earnestly reading the Holy Book. The other panel shows the stately St. Paul, robed in white, standing before the ardent and impassioned St. Mark. Kugler calls these panels "the first complete work of art produced by Protestantism;" and the truth and simplicity of the paintings prefigured the return of a pure and incorrupt faith.

Late in 1526, Dürer sent these pictures to the Rath of Nuremberg, with the following letter: "Provident, Honorable, Wise, Dear Lords, — I have been for some time past minded to present your Wisdoms with something of my unworthy

painting as a remembrance; but I have been obliged to give this up on account of the defects of my poor work, for I knew that I should not have been well able to maintain the same before your Wisdoms. During this past time, however, I have painted a picture, and bestowed more diligence upon it than upon any other painting; therefore I esteem no one worthier than your Wisdoms to keep it as a remembrance; on which account I present the same to you herewith, begging you with humble diligence to accept my little present graciously and favorably, and to be and remain my favorable and dear Lords, as I have always hitherto found you. This, with the utmost humility, I will sedulously endeavor to merit from your Wisdoms."

The Rath eagerly accepted this noble gift, and hung the two panels in the Rath-haus, sending also a handsome present of money to Dürer and his wife. A century afterwards Maximilian of Bavaria saw and coveted the pictures, and used bribery and threats alike to secure them. In 1627 he accomplished his purpose; and the Rath, fearful of his wrath and dreading his power, sent the panels to Munich.

The woodcut portrait of Dürer, dated 1527, shows the worn face of a man of fifty-six years, whose life has been stormy and sometimes unhappy. It is much less beautiful than the earlier pictures, for his long flowing hair and beard have both been cut short, perhaps on account of sickness, or in deference to the new puritan ideas. The face is delicate and melancholy, and seems to rest under the shadow of approaching death, which is to be met with a calm and simple faith.

His second book, entitled "Some Instruction in the Fortification of Cities, Castles, and Towns," appeared in 1527, and was dedicated to Ferdinand I., and adorned with several woodcuts. In this the artist showed the same familiarity with the principles of defensive works as his great contemporaries Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo had done. Much attention is paid to the proper sheltering of heavy artillery from hostile shot; and the plans of the towers and bastions about Nuremberg, which were built after Dürer's death, were suggested in this work. A large contemporary woodcut by the master shows the siege of a city, with cannon playing from the bastions, and the garrison making a sortie against the enemy.

The celebrated "Four Books of Human Proportion" was Dürer's greatest literary work, and was completed about this time, having been begun in 1523. Its preparation was suggested by Pirkheimer, to whom it was dedicated, and who published it after the author's death, with a long Latin elegy on him. Great labor was bestowed on this work, and many of the original sketches and notes are still preserved. The first and second books show the correct proportions of the human body and its members, according to scale, dividing the body into seven parts, each of which has the same measurement as the head, and then considering it in eighths. The proportions of children are also treated of; and the dogma is formulated, that the woman should be one-eighteenth shorter than the man. The third book is devoted to transposing or changing these proportions, and contains examples of distorted and unsymmetrical figures; and the fourth book treats of foreshortening, and shows the human body in motion. In his preface he says: "Let no one think that I am presumptuous enough to imagine that I have written a wonderful book, or seek to raise myself above others. This be far

from me! for I know well that but small and mediocre understanding and art can be found in the following work."

The high appreciation in which this book was held appears from the fact that it passed through several German editions, besides three Latin, two Italian, two French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English editions. Most of the original MS. is now in the British Museum.

Among Dürer's other works were treatises on Civic Architecture, Music, the Art of Fencing, Landscape-Painting, Colors, Painting, and the Proportions of the Horse.

But the year 1527 was nearly barren of new art-works; for the master's hand was losing its power, and his busy brain had grown weary. His constitution was slowly yielding before the fatal advances of a wasting disease, possibly the low fever which he had contracted in Zealand, or it may have been an affection of the lungs. In the latter days he made a memorandum: "Regarding the belongings I have amassed by my own handiwork, I have not had a great chance to become rich, and have had plenty of losses; having lent without being repaid, and my work-

people have not reckoned with me; also my agent at Rome died, after using up my property. Half of this loss was thirteen years ago, and I have blamed myself for losses contracted at Venice. Still we have good house-furnishing, clothing, costly things as earthenware [maiolica], professional fittings-up, bed-furnishings, chests, and cabinets; and my stock of colors is worth 100 guldens."

The last design of the master was a drawing on gray paper, showing Christ on the Cross. When this was all completed except the face of the Divine sufferer, the artist was summoned by Death, and ascended to behold in glory the features which he had so often portrayed under the thorns.

A violent attack of his chronic disease prostrated him so far that he was unable to rally; and after a brief illness he passed gently away, on the 6th of April, 1528. It was the anniversary of the day on which Raphael died, eight years before. His friends were startled and grief-stricken at his sudden death, which came so unexpectedly that even Pirkheimer was absent from the city. It was long supposed that he died of

the plague, on the evidence of a portrait-drawing of himself, showing him pointing to a discolored plague-spot on his side, and inscribed, "Where my fingers point, there I suffer." It was said that this sketch was for the information of his doctor, who dared not visit the pestilence-stricken sick-chamber. But this hypothesis is no longer considered tenable.

The remains of the master were buried in the lot of his father-in-law, Hans Frey, at the Cemetery of St. John, beyond the walls; and his monument bore Pirkheimer's simple epitaph: "ME. AL. DU. QUICQUID ALBERTI DURERI MORTALE FUIT, SUB HOC CONDITUR TUMULO. EMIGRAVIT VIII IDUS APRILIS, MDXXVIII. A.D.

On Easter Sunday, 1828, the third centenary of his death, a great procession of artists and scholars from all parts of Germany moved in solemn state from Nuremberg to the grave of Dürer, where they sang hymns.

In the valley of the Pegnitz, where across broad meadow-lands
Rise the blue Franconian mountains, Nuremberg the ancient stands.

Quaint old town of toil and traffic, quaint old town of art and song,
Memories haunt thy pointed gables, like the rooks that round them throng.

Memories of the Middle Ages, when the emperors rough and bold
Had their dwelling in thy castle, time-defying, centuries old;

And thy brave and thrifty burghers boasted, in their uncouth rhyme,
That their great imperial city stretched its hand through every clime.

In the courtyard of the castle, bound with many an iron band,
Stands the mighty linden planted by Queen Cunigunde's hand;

On the square the oriel window, where in old heroic days
Sat the poet Melchior singing Kaiser Maximilian's praise.

Everywhere I see around me rise the wondrous world of Art,
Fountains wrought with richest sculpture standing in the common mart;

And above cathedral doorways, saints and bishops carved in stone,
By a former age commissioned as apostles to our own.

In the church of sainted Sebald sleeps enshrined his holy dust,
And in bronze the Twelve Apostles guard from age to age their trust:

In the church of sainted Lawrence stands a pix of sculpture rare,
Like the foamy sheaf of fountains, rising through the painted air.

Here, when Art was still religion, with a simple, reverent heart,
Lived and labored Albrecht Dürer, the Evangelist of Art;

Hence in silence and in sorrow, toiling still with busy hand,
Like an emigrant he wandered, seeking for the Better Land.

Emigravit is the inscription on the tombstone where he lies:
Dead he is not, but departed, for the artist never dies.

LONGFELLOW.

Pirkheimer wrote to Ulrich, "Although I have been often tried by the death of those who were dear to me, I think I have never until now experienced such sorrow as the loss of our dearest and best Dürer has caused me. And truly not without cause; for, of all men who were not bound to me by ties of blood, I loved and esteemed him the most, on account of his countless merits and rare integrity. As I know, my dear Ulrich, that you share my sorrow, I do not hesitate to allow it free course in your presence, so that we may consecrate together a just tribute of tears to our dear friend. He has gone from us, our Albert! Let us weep, my dear Ulrich, over the inexorable fate, the miserable lot of man, and the unfeeling cruelty of death. A noble man is snatched away, whilst so many others, worthless and incapable men, enjoy unclouded happiness, and have their years prolonged beyond the ordinary term of man's life."

Pirkheimer died two years after Dürer's death, and was buried near him. During his last days, and therefore so long after his friend's decease that the first violence of his emotions had fully subsided, and his mind had become calm, he

wrote to Herr Tschertte of Vienna, and gave the following arraignment of the widow Dürer: "Truly I lost in Albert the best friend I ever had in the world, and nothing grieves me so much as to think that he died such an unhappy death; for after the providence of God I can ascribe it to no one but his wife, who so gnawed at his heart, and worried him to such a degree, that he departed from this world sooner than he would otherwise have done. He was dried up like a bundle of straw, and never dared to be in good spirits, or to go out into society. For this bad woman was always anxious, although really she had no cause to be; and she urged him on day and night, and forced him to hard work only for this, — that he might earn money, and leave it to her when he died. For she always feared ruin, as she does still, notwithstanding that Albert has left her property worth about six thousand gulden. But nothing ever satisfied her; and in short she alone was the cause of his death. I have often myself expostulated with her about her suspicious, blameworthy conduct, and have warned her, and told her beforehand what the end of it would be; but I have never met with

any thing but ingratitude. For whoever was a friend of her husband's, and wished him well, to him she was an enemy; which troubled Albert to the highest degree, and brought him at last to his grave. I have not seen her since his death: she will have nothing to do with me, although I have been helpful to her in many things; but one cannot trust her. She is always suspicious of anybody who contradicts her, or does not take her part in all things, and is immediately an enemy. Therefore I would much rather she should keep away from me. She and her sister are not loose characters, but, as I do not doubt, honorable, pious, and very God-fearing women; but one would rather have to do with a light woman who behaved in a friendly manner, than with such a nagging, suspicious, scolding, pious woman, with whom a man can have no peace day or night. We must, however, leave the matter to God, who will be gracious and merciful to our good Albert, for he lived a pious and upright man, and died in a very Christian and blessed manner; therefore we need not fear his salvation. God grant us grace, that we may happily follow him when our time comes!"

It is said that Raphael, after studying Dürer's engravings, exclaimed, "Of a truth this man would have surpassed us all if he had had the masterpieces of art constantly before his eyes as we have." Even so at the present day is it seen, that if Dürer had studied classic art, and imbibed its principles, he might have added a rare beauty to the weird ugliness and solemnity of his designs, and substituted the sweet Graces for the grim Walkyrie. Yet in that case the world would have lost the fascinations of the sad and profound Nuremberg pictures, with their terrific realism and fantastic richness.

Italy did not disdain to borrow the ideas of the transalpine artist; and even Raphael took the design of his famous picture of "The Entombment" (*Lo Spasimo*) from Dürer's picture in "The Great Passion." Titian borrowed from his "Life of the Virgin" the figure of an old woman, which he introduced in his "Presentation in the Temple." The Florentine Pontormo copied a whole landscape from one of Dürer's paintings; and Andrea del Sarto received many direct suggestions from his works.

"It is very surprising in regard to that man,

that in a rude and barbarous age he was the first of the Germans who not only arrived at an exact imitation of nature, but has likewise left no second; being so absolute a master of it in all its parts, — in etching, engraving, statuary, architecture, optics, symmetry, and the rest, — that he had no equal except Michael Angelo Buonarotti, his contemporary and rival; and he left behind him such works as were too much for the life of one man." — JOHN ANDREAS.

In the preface to his Latin translation of "The Four Books of Human Proportion," the Rector Camerarius says: "Nature gave our Albert a form remarkable for proportion and height, and well suited to the beautiful spirit which it held therein; so that in his case she was not unmindful of the harmony which Hippocrates loves to dwell upon, whereby she assigns a grotesque body to the grotesquely-spirited ape, while she enshrines the noble soul in a befitting temple. He had a graceful hand, brilliant eyes, a nose well-formed, such as the Greeks call *Τετράγωνον*, the neck a little long, chest full, stomach flat, hips well-knit, and legs straight. As to his fingers, you would have said that you never saw

any thing more graceful. Such, moreover, was the charm of his language, that listeners were always sorry when he had finished speaking.

"He did not devote himself to the study of literature, though he was in a great measure master of what it conveys, especially of natural science and mathematics. He was well acquainted with the principal facts of these sciences, and could apply them as well as set them forth in words: witness his treatises on geometry, in which there is nothing to be desired that I can find, at least so far as he has undertaken to treat the subject. . . . But Nature had especially designed him for painting, which study he embraced with all his might, and was never tired of considering the works and methods of celebrated painters, and learning from them all that commended itself to him. . . . If he had a fault it was this: that he worked with too untiring industry, and practised a degree of severity towards himself that he often carried beyond bounds."

A LIST OF

ALBERT DÜRER'S CHIEF PAINTINGS

NOW IN EXISTENCE, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *The interrogation-mark is annexed to the titles of certain paintings which two or more critics regard as of doubtful authenticity.*

GERMANY.

NUREMBERG. — *Germanic Museum*, — Emperor Maximilian; Burgomaster Holzschuher, 1526. *St. Maurice Gallery*, — Pietà; Ecce Homo. *Rath-Haus*, — Emperor Sigismund (?); Charlemagne (?).

MUNICH PINAKOTHEK, — Baumgärtner Altar-piece, 1513; Suicide of Lucretia, 1518; Albert Dürer, 1500; Oswald Krell, 1499; Michael Wohlgemuth, 1516; Albert Dürer the Elder, 1497; the Nativity; Sts. Paul and Mark, 1526; Sts. Peter and John, 1526; a Knight in Armor (?); Sts. Joachim and Joseph, 1523; St. Simeon and Bishop Lazarus, 1523; Death of the Virgin; a Young Man, 1500; Pietà (?); Mater Dolorosa.

DRESDEN MUSEUM, — Christ Bearing the Cross; the

Crucifixion; a Hare; Lucas van Leyden; Madonna and Saints (?). COLOGNE. — *Museum*, — Drummer and Piper; Madonna (?). *Church of Sta. Maria im Capitol*, — Death of the Virgin. FRANKFORT. — *Municipal Gallery*, — Two portraits. *Städel Institute*, — Catherine Fürleger; Albert Dürer the Elder. CASSEL. — *Friedrich Museum*, — The Passion. *Bellevue*, — Erasmus of Rotterdam. POMMERSFELDEN, — Jacob Muffel. LUSTSCHENA (Baron Speck), — A Young Lady. ASCHAFFENBURG, — Albert Dürer. AUGSBURG, — Two Masques. Several others in the Castle of Stolzenfels.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA. — *Belvedere*, — Emperor Maximilian, 1519; Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians, 1508; Madonna, 1506; Adoration of the Magi, 1504; Madonna, 1503; Adoration of the Holy Trinity, 1511; Madonna; Young Man, 1507; Johann Kleeberger, 1526; and others not definitely authenticated. *The Albertina*, — Emperor Maximilian, Green Passion, and 160 drawings. *Czernin Palace*, — Portrait. The old Ambraser, Lichtenstein, and Von Lamberg collections included four portraits and two religious pictures. *St. Wolfgang's Church*, Upper Austria, — Death of the Virgin. PESTH, — Christ on the Cross. PRAGUE. — *Strahow Abbey*, — The Feast of Rose Garlands.

NORTHERN EUROPE.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Hermitage Palace*, — Christ Led to Calvary; Christ Bearing the Cross; the Elector of Saxony. *Hague Museum*. — Two portraits. *Belœil* (Prince de

Ligne), — Two pictures. *Basle Museum* (Switzerland), — Two pictures. *Coire Cathedral*, — Christ Bearing the Cross.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — *Uffizi Gallery*, — Adoration of the Magi 1504; Madonna, 1526; Dürer's Father, 1490; Apostle Philip, 1516; St. James the Great, 1516; Albert Dürer, 1498; Ecce Homo (?); Nativity (?); Pieta (?). *Pitti Palace*, — Adam and Eve (replica).

ROME. — *Barberini Palace*, — Christ among the Doctors, 1506. *Borghese Palace*, — Louis VI. of Bavaria; Pirkheimer, 1505; and five pictures of dubious authenticity. *Corsini Palace*, — A Hare; Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg. *Doria Palace*, — St. Eustace (?); Ecce Homo (?). *Sciarra-Colonna Palace*. — Death of the Virgin.

MILAN. — *Casa Trivulzi*, — Ecce Homo, 1514. *Ambrosiana*, — Coronation of the Virgin, 1510. *Bergamo Academy*, — Christ Bearing the Cross. *Brescia Gallery*, — Drawings. VENICE. — *Manfrini Palace*, — Adoration of the Shepherds; Holy Family. NAPLES. — *Santangelo*, — Garland-Bearer, 1508. *Museum*, — Nativity, 1512. *Villafranca Palace*, — Christ on the Cross.

SPAIN.

MADRID. — *Museum*, — Albert Dürer, 1498; Dürer's Father; Adam and Eve. *Marquis of Salamanca*, — Altarpiece, a Passion scene.

FRANCE.

Besançon Museum, — Christ on the Cross. *Lyons*, — Madonna and Child Giving Roses to Maximilian (?)

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Gallery, — A Senator, 1514. *Staffora House*, Death of the Virgin. *Hampton-Court Palace*, — Young Man, 1506; St. Jerome (?). *Buckingham Palace*, — Virgin and Child. *Rev. J. F. Russell*, — Crucifixion; Christ's Farewell to Mary (? ?). *Thirlestaine House*, — Maximilian. *Kensington Palace*, — Young Man. *New Battle House*, — Madonna and Angels. *Belvoir Castle*, — Portrait. *Sion House*, — Dürer's Father. *Mr. Wynn Ellis, London*, — Catherine Fürleger; Virgin and Child. *Fitz William Museum, Cambridge*, — Annunciation (?). *Windsor Castle*, — Pirkheimer. *Bath House*, — Man in Armor. *Howard Castle*, — Vulcan; Adam and Eve; Abraham and Isaac.

*** *The latest of the lists of Dürer's paintings, compiled by Mr. W. B. Scott in* 1870, *enumerates the following collections, long since dispersed, with the dates when they were catalogued:* 11 *pictures at Aix, in* 1822; 2 *at Anspach,* 1816; 5 *at Augsburg,* 1822; 10 *at Bamberg,* 1821; 2 *at Banz,* 1814; 4 *at Berlin,* 1822; 3 *at Blankenberg,* 1817; 3 *at Bologna,* 1730; 3 *at Breslau,* 1741; 6 *at Brussels,* 1811. *Many of these cannot now be located, the collections having been broken up.*

A LIST OF

DÜRER'S WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

Bible Subjects. — Cain Killing Abel; Samson Slaying the Lion; Adoration of the Magi, 1511; the Last Supper, 1523; the Mount of Olives; Pilate Showing Christ to the Jews; the Sudarium; Ecce Homo; the Crucifixion, 1510; the Crucifixion, 1516; Calvary; the Crucifixion; Christ on the Cross, with Angels; the Trinity, 1511; the Holy Family, 1511; the Holy Family with a Guitar, 1511; the Holy Family, 1526; the Holy Family in a Chamber; the Virgin with the Swaddled Child; the Virgin Crowned by Angels, 1518; the Holy Family with Three Rabbits.

Saints. — St. Arnolf, Bishop; St. Christopher, 1511; St. Christopher with the Birds; St. Christopher, 1525; St. Coman of Scotland, 1513; St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata; St. George; the Mass of St. Gregory, 1511; St. Jerome in a Chamber, 1511; St. Jerome in the Grotto, 1512; the Little St. Jerome; the Beheading of St. John the Baptist; the Head of St. John brought to Herod, 1511; St. Sebald; the Penitent; Elias and the Raven; Sts. John and Jerome; Sts. Nicholas, Udalricus, and Erasmus; Sts. Stephen, Gregory and Lawrence; the Eight Austrian Saints; the Martyrdom

of Ten Thousand Christians; the Beheading of St. Catherine; St. Mary Magdalen.

Portraits. — The Emperor Maximilian, 1519; the Emperor; Ulrich Varnbühler, 1522; Albert Dürer, 1527.

Heraldic Subjects. — The Beham Arms; the Dürer Arms, 1523; the Ebner-Furer Arms, 1516; the Kressen Arms; the Shield of Nuremberg; the Shield with three Lions' Heads; the Shield with a Wild Man and two Dogs; the Scheuerl-Zuiglin Arms; the Stabius Arms; the Staiber Arms.

Miscellaneous Subjects. — The Judgment of Paris; Hercules; the Rider; the Bath; the Embrace; the Learner, 1510; Death and the Soldier, 1510; the Besieged City, 1527; the Rhinoceros, 1515; the Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian, 1522; the Great Column, 1517; a Man Sketching; two Men Sketching a Lute; a Man Sketching a Woman; a Man Sketching an Urn; Hemispherium Australe; Imagines Cœli Septentrionalis; Imagines Cœli Meridionalis; the Pirkheimer Title-border; six Ornamental designs; two title-borders.

The Great Passion (12 cuts; 1510). — Ecce Homo; the Last Supper; the Agony in the Garden; the Seizing of Christ; the Flagellation; the Mocking; Bearing the Cross; the Crucifixion; Christ in Hades; the Wailing Maries; the Entombment; the Resurrection.

The Little Passion (37 cuts; 1511). — Ecce Homo; Adam and Eve; the Expulsion from Eden; the Annunciation; the Nativity; the Entry into Jerusalem; the Cleansing of the Temple; Christ's Farewell to His Mother; the Last Sup-

per; the Washing of the Feet; the Agony in the Garden; the Kiss of Judas; Christ before Annas; Caiaphas Rends his Clothes; the Mocking; Christ and Pilate; Christ before Herod; the Scourging; the Crowning with Thorns; Christ Shown to the Jews; Pilate Washing his Hands; Bearing the Cross; the Veronica; Nailing Christ to the Cross; the Crucifixion; Descent into Hell; the Descent from the Cross; the Weeping Maries; the Entombment; the Resurrection; Christ in Glory Appearing to His Mother; Appearing to Mary Magdalen; at Emmaus; the Unbelief of St. Thomas; the Ascension; the Descent of the Holy Ghost; the Last Judgment.

The Life of the Virgin (20 designs; 1511). — The Virgin and Child; Joachim's Offering Rejected; the Angel Appears to Joachim; Joachim Meeting Anna; the Birth of Mary; the Virgin's Presentation at the Temple; the Betrothal of Mary and Joseph; the Annunciation; the Visitation of St. Elizabeth; the Nativity; the Circumcision; the Purification of Mary; the Flight into Egypt; the Repose in Egypt; Christ Teaching in the Temple; Christ's Farewell to His Mother; the Death of the Virgin; the Assumption; the Virgin and Child with seven Saints.

The Apocalypse of St. John (16 designs; 1498). — The Virgin and Child Appearing to St. John; His Attempted Martyrdom; the Seven Golden Candlesticks and the Seven Stars; the Throne of God with the Four-and-twenty Elders and the Beasts; the Descent of the Four Horses; the Martyrs Clothed in White and the Stars Falling; the Four Angels Holding the Winds, and the Sealing of the Elect;

the Seven Angel Trumpeters and the Glorified Host of Saints; the Four Angels Slaying the Third Part of Men: John is Made to Eat the Book; the Woman Clothed with the Sun, and the Seven-headed Dragon; Michael and his Angels Fighting the Great Dragon; the Worship of the Seven-headed Dragon; the Lamb in Zion; the Woman of Babylon Sitting on the Beast; the Binding of Satan for a Thousand Years.

There are 261 other wood-engravings described in the catalogue attached to Scott's "Life of Dürer," and ranked as "doubtful." Many of these are held to be authentic by one or more of the three critical authorities on Dürer's works, — Heller, Bartsch, and Passavant. Other connoisseurs, however, ascribe them to different engravers of the early German schools, mostly to pupils and colleagues of Dürer.

ENGRAVINGS ON COPPER.

Bible-Subjects. — Adam and Eve, 1504; the Nativity, 1504; the Passion on copper (16 designs), 1508–13; Crucifixion, 1508, 1511; Little Crucifixion, 1513; Christ Showing His Five Wounds; Angel with the Sudarium, 1516; two Angels with the Sudarium, 1513; the Prodigal Son, 1500; the Virgin and Anna; Mary on the Crescent Moon, no date; Mary on the Crescent Moon, 1514; Mary with a Crown of Stars, 1508; Mary with the Starry Crown and Sceptre, 1516; Mary Crowned by an Angel, 1520; Mary Crowned by two Angels, 1518; the Nursing Mary, 1503; the Nursing Mary, 1519; Mary with the Swaddled Child,

1520; Mary under a Tree, 1513; Mary by the Well, 1514; Mary with the Pear, 1511; Mary with the Monkey, no date; the Holy Family with the Butterfly, early work.

Saints. — St. Philip; St. Bartholomew, 1523; St. Thomas, 1514; St. Simon, 1514; St. Paul, 1514; St. Anthony, 1519; St. Christopher, 1521; St. Christopher, second design; St John Chrysostom; St. Eustace, no date; St. George; Equestrian St. George, 1508; St. Jerome, 1514; St. Jerome Praying; the same, smaller, 1513; St. Sebastian; St. Sebastian Bound to a Pillar.

Miscellaneous. — The Judgment of Paris, 1513; Apollo and Diana; the Rape of Amymone; Jealousy; the Satyr's Family, 1505; Justice; the Little Fortune; the Great Fortune; Melencolia, 1514; the Dream; the Four Naked Women, 1497; the Witch; Three Cupids; Gentleman and Lady Walking; the Love Offer; the Wild Man Seizing a Woman, early work; the Bagpiper, 1514; the Dancing Rustics, 1514; the Peasant and his Wife; Peasant Going to Market; Three Peasants; the Cook and the Housekeeper; the Turk and his Wife; the Standard-bearer; the Six Soldiers; the Little Courier; the Equestrian Lady; the Great White Horse, 1505; the Small White Horse, 1505; the Knight, Death, and the Devil, 1513; the Monster Pig; the Coat-of-arms with the Cock, 1514; the Coat-of-arms and Death's Head, 1503.

Portraits. — The Cardinal-Archbishop Albert of Mayence 1519, 1522; larger portrait of the same; Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, 1524; Erasmus of Rotterdam, 1526 Philip Melanchthon, 1526; Willibald Pirkheimer, 1524.

ETCHINGS. — Christ with Bound Hands, 1512; Ecce Homo, 1515; Christ on the Mount of Olives, 1515; the Holy Family; St. Jerome; Pluto and Proserpine; the Bath; the Cannon.

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REMBRANDT

PREFACE.

THE following pages are devoted to a narrative of the life, character, and productions of the great Rembrandt, the head of the art of Holland, and one of the most original and prolific artists that the world has ever seen. The chief authority in this study is the careful and accurate C. Vosmaer, who for many years past has spared neither pains nor expense in collecting every incident that could develop the story of Rembrandt's artistic traits, or his peculiarities as a man. Vosmaer's first book, treating of the master's precursors and apprenticeship, was published at the Hague in 1863; and his second volume, describing Rembrandt's life and works, appeared in the same city in 1868. He wrote *con amore*, and exculpated his subject from certain of the false charges which most art-authors have made against him. In several cases Vosmaer conclusively proves his new positions by quoting ancient documents and municipal registries,

and renders it easy for the American writer to follow him with confidence.

The other authorities consulted for this biography are Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné" (vol. vii.); Taine's "Art in the Netherlands;" Fromentin's "Les Maîtres d'Autrefois;" Blanc's "Histoire des Peintres;" Coquerel's "Rembrandt et l'Individualism dans l'Art;" Head and Kugler's "Hand-book of Painting;" Middleton's "Notes on Rembrandt;" Blanc's "L'Œuvre Complet de Rembrandt" (two vols.); and the more general treatises of Lübke, Waagen, Baldinucci, and Hamerton. Among other works studied and quoted from, under careful reserve, are Fairholt's "Homes and Haunts of Foreign Artists," and Descamp's "Vie des Peintres" (Marseilles, 1842; vol. i.).

In these comparisons the author has found sufficient reasons to reject the ideas until recently prevalent, that Rembrandt was an avaricious, opinionated, and uncultured peasant. These false beliefs, founded on the statements of the jealous Houbraken, are now discredited by the leading British and Continental critics. It is a happy task to add our testimony towards the vindication of the proudest and loftiest name in the art-history of the Netherlands.

M. F. SWEETSER.

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REMBRANDT.

CHAPTER I.

The New Republic. — The Forerunners. — Rembrandt's Birthplace. — His Family. — His Education. — Leyden. — Lastman. — Dou. — Early Works.

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the national existence of Holland was being admitted as a new fact, on the map of Europe and in the councils of the Great Powers. The heroic sea-girt provinces had waged a desperate war for independence, prolonged through many decades, and accompanied by extraordinary cruelties on the part of the armies of Spain. At last it seemed as if Providence had its eyes upon this little people, favorably examining its griefs and pitying its anguish, and preparing a great deliverance. The nation flourished amid its desolating wars, and grew stronger under attacks which

threatened annihilation. It succeeded against the oppressor as it had previously against a brumal climate, an encroaching sea, and the disasters of the drowned lands.

Step by step with the material prosperity and the military and naval prowess of Holland, advanced the more enduring glories of free and fearless literature and art. The revolt of the United Provinces was not only against Spain and Rome, but also against the repression of thought and research in all departments, whereof the political and ecclesiastical formed but a part. Within a few years the enfranchised and illustrious school of Dutch art advanced to a proud position of independence and power, producing dozens of masters whose names can never die. Let us see how fast they followed each other, these giants of the new *régime*. Wynants was born in 1600; Cuyp in 1605; Rembrandt in 1607; Terburg and Brouwer in 1608; Adrian van Ostade, the Boths, and Ferdinand Bol, in 1610; Gerard Dou and Van der Helst in 1613; Metsu in 1615; Van der Neer at about the same time; Wouverman in 1620; Weenix, Everdingen, and Pynaker in 1621; Berghem in 1624; Paul Potter

in 1625; Jan Steen in 1626; Ruysdael and Hobbema in 1630; and De Hooch, Adrian Van de Velde, and Van der Heyden soon after.

The monumental architecture of Egypt and the beautiful statuary of Greece were succeeded by the naïve mysticism of mediæval Europe, and the art of painting arose in Flanders with the Van Eycks, and advanced in Italy under Leonardo, and in the North under Dürer and Holbein. The Renaissance lowered the art of Italy, Italianized that of France, and threw that of Germany into confusion. But in the seventeenth century the Dutch school of painting, never quite subservient, passed onward towards the modern ideas of secularized, individual, and independent art, free from the control of the Church and the Academy. The rise of the Republic, the religious reformation, the era of maritime discovery, and the rapid spread of the new arts of engraving and printing, combined to aid the northern painters in their revolt against repression in traditional mannerisms. Landscape and *genre* painting became popular in place of ecclesiastical subjects, and the dry manner of the earlier artists was forsaken. The naturalistic school under

Lucas van Leyden was at odds with the conventionalists under Scorel. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a group of the most eminent Dutch artists began to appear; and the general level of culture in this direction rose rapidly, while the contest between discipline and individualism went on.

Among the precursors of Rembrandt we find the sincere, serious, and rigid Mierevelt; the brilliant and naturalistic Honthorst, called by the Italians *Gherardo della Notte*, rich and patrician, and successful alike in England, Italy, and Holland; De Grebber of Haarlem, delighting in highly colored historical pictures; Van Schooten, who echoed the prevalent Italian taste in his religious pictures; Van Ravesteyn, famous for his admirable portraits and corporation-groups; De Keyser, excelling in civic portraits; Jacob Cuyp, full of intense life and character, and leading in the new study and appreciation of out-door nature; with E. Van de Velde, Roghman, and Van Goyen. Leonard Bramer was one of the foremost of the precursors, and anticipated the manner of Rembrandt most nearly, having travelled widely and studied in Italy and France. Uyten-

brouck was another contemporary nationalist in art, and executed many delicate and highly finished landscapes and Scriptural scenes.

Elsheimer, the pensive and serious, dwelling in Rome, though of German origin, founded there a new manner of composition, natural, frank, expressive, and picturesque, and exercised a powerful influence over the æsthetic sentiment of his time. Among his many pupils were Lastman, Pinas, Teniers, Goudt, and De Hagelstein; and in his works we may see many intimations of the coming manner of Rembrandt.

Franz Hals was the most brilliant and masterly of the predecessors of Rembrandt, though he was assailed by the denunciations of Houbraken, who was as inaccurate as Vasari, his Italian prototype, and far more harsh. Hals was of a patrician and artistic family of Mechlin, and dwelt at Haarlem nearly all his lifetime. He studied with Van Mander, and afterwards taught the two famous Adrians, Ostade and Brouwer. Without diverting the current of his free and national predilections by studying in Italy, he developed a fresh and brilliant art of his own, full of harmony and dignity, grandeur and unity.

As Vosmaer says, "He was the brilliant introduction, *l'allegro vivace con brio,* of the majestic Rembrandt symphony."

"REMBRANDT VAN RYN, the son of Harmen Gerritszoon of the Rhine and Neeltjen Willems of Suydtbrouck, was born in the city of Leyden, July 15, 1606 [1607]. His parents having sent him to school to have him taught the Latin language, and prepared for the Leyden Academy, in order that when he came of age he might serve the city and the republic by his knowledge, he had no longing nor desire thitherward, because his natural tendencies led him always towards the art of painting and designing; wherefore they were obliged to take him away from the school, and place him in apprenticeship with a painter, according to his desire, in order to learn from him the first foundations and principles. Following this resolution, they led him to the meritorious painter Master Jacob Isaakszoon van Swanenburg, to be taught by him, and he remained with him nearly three years; and as during that time he made such progress that the amateurs of art were filled with marvelling, and it was evident that in time he would become an

eminent painter, his father found it good to send him away to board, and to conduct him to the renowned artist P. Lastman, living at Amsterdam, in order that by him he should be conducted and taught yet farther and better. Having been there about six months, he thought it best to study and practise painting alone and in his own way; and succeeded so well that he has become one of the most renowned painters of our century. As his art and his work extremely pleased the people of Amsterdam, and as he was many times solicited to make portraits and other paintings there, he found it convenient to move from Leyden to Amsterdam, and went away from here about the year 1630, and abode in that city, and lives there yet in the year 1641."

In this manner the Burgomaster Orlers, the contemporary of the master, gives a brief account of his beginnings in life, in "The Description and History of the City of Leyden." Authentic legal documents and inscriptions show that he was born in 1607, instead of 1606. It has been generally supposed, and even Fairholt so stated in his "Homes and Haunts of Foreign Artists" (1871), that Rembrandt was born in a mill, a

little way up the Rhine from Leyden; but about the only authority for this belief was the master's etching entitled "The Mill of Rembrandt,' whose title was not given, however, until the eighteenth century. Orlers, Van Leeuwen, and other good authorities, state that the great artist was born *in* Leyden.

The house which was the birthplace of Rembrandt still stands, on a narrow lane diverging from the Noordeinde Street, just inside of the White Gate, and running down between mean houses and barrack-walls to the River Rhine. Early in the sixteenth century, the traveller who entered Leyden from the west followed a road between the Rhine dyke and the low meadows on the left, approaching the quaint Gothic spires and turrets of the city full in front, crossing the broad moat on a wooden bridge, and passing through a low gate between two massive towers. Once within the city wall, and on his left a narrow lane called the Weddesteeg diverged towards the Rhine, running between a range of houses on one side and the rampart on the other. As early as the year of the great Spanish siege, 1574, one of the houses in this outer street was occupied by a

miller named Cornelis Claeszoon, with his wife Lysbeth, and her two children by a former marriage, Harmen and Marytje, with their servant and a boarder, a Frisian student. Harmen naturally became a miller, like his stepfather; and Marytje, his sister, married a boatman in 1584, and had four children during the next six years. In 1589 Harmen also appeared in St. Peter's Church, and espoused Neeltje, the daughter of Willem van Suytdbrouck, a baker of Leyden. Soon afterwards he bought half of his stepfather's mill and mill-house, together with a newly-built house in the familiar Weddesteeg, and half of a garden beyond the Rynsburg Gate. His mother died in 1600, and bequeathed her property to him and Marytje; and Cornelis Claeszoon soon remarried, in 1601, his new bride being named Adriaentje Rembrandt's-Daughter. Harmen was thus frequently brought in contact with the Rembrandts, the family of his stepfather's wife, and became pleasantly familiar with the name which he afterwards bestowed on his son.

At the time of Rembrandt's birth his father was forty years old, and his mother was a buxom and

self-asserting dame of thirty-five. They already had five children, Adriaen, Gerrit, Machteld, Cornelis, and Willem, and the memories of two who had died. The family was in easy circumstances, owning several houses, a large part of the Rhine Mill, and two suburban gardens. The third house from the north end of the Weddesteeg formed part of Harmen's heritage from his mother, and he moved into it after Cornelis's second marriage. In this gable-roofed house, quaint, comfortable, and picturesque, the great Rembrandt was born.

Rembrandt is not a family name, as many have imagined, but a Christian name, analogous to other common first names, such as Wybrand, Garbrand, Sibrand, &c. Certain superficial foreign writers have understood it to be a family title, and have supplied the unnecessary and unauthorized prefix of *Paul*, which is as if one should say "William Raphael," or "George Titian." In those early times the custom was still prevalent in Holland (as it always has been among the Arabs also), of naming children after their parents; so that Rembrandt, the son of Harmen, was called Rembrandt Harmenszoon (Harmen's son). In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, permanent family

names first arose among the Dutch, and were usually formed from their native cities, seigniories, emblems, or localities. In this way arose the title *Van Ryn*, or "of Rhine," in allusion, probably to the location of the home of Harmen's family.

There is so much talk about "Rembrandt's Mill," although he was neither born in, worked in, nor painted in such a place, that we must at least allude to the actual Van Ryns' mill. That which appears in the engravings of Bisschop, Cornet, and Flameng, was owned in fact by his grandmother, for one year, and stood on the Pelican Bastion of Leyden, over against the White Gate and the Weddesteeg. Having sold it, she bought another at the village of Noordwyck, in 1575, and removed it to a place on the same Pelican Bastion; and this so-called Rhine Mill remained in the possession of the family for three-quarters of a century. Several distinct acts and quota-lists issued officially between 1581 and 1622 show that during all this time Harmen van Ryn lived in the Weddesteeg of Leyden, where he owned a good house. The mill belonging to him was on the bastion opposite; and it is difficult to conjecture why his wife should have left their commodious domicile, at the time of her con-

finement, to await the coming event among the horrible noises of a windmill.

The mill which the unreliable Houbraken and his copyists have assigned as the birthplace and first studio of Rembrandt was on slightly elevated ground, near the Rhine, and between the hamlets of Layordorp and Koukergen. The inventive writers who assert that Rembrandt was born here, also state that he owed his ideas of concentrated light and general obscurity, to his residence in a mill, where the daylight entered only through a narrow and elevated window. But mills were not used as habitations in those days, especially by well-to-do people like the Van Ryns.

Orlers has told us of the young Rembrandt, rising from the elementary studies, the creeds and secular rudiments, to the dignity of the Latin language, in preparation for a course in the university. His brothers were already engaged in commercial business; but Harmen had evidently resolved that his youngest boy should seek a higher flight, hoping, perhaps, that he might some day attain to the magistracy of the city. But all the efforts of the Dutch Latinist to enlist his pupil's interest in the Augustan literature were in vain; for the miller's

son found other and more engrossing themes of interest, in the streets of the proud old town in which he lived.

In those days Leyden was an opulent and powerful city, second only to Amsterdam, filled with the quaint domestic architecture of the Renaissance in Holland, and possessing a sumptuous city-hall and two famous Gothic churches. Only thirty years had passed since its heroic and long-protracted defence against the besieging Spanish army, when it was finally relieved while starving by the Prince of Orange, who broke down the Rhine dykes, and drowned great numbers of the Spaniards. The Prince offered to reward the valiant Leydeners, either by remitting their taxes, or by establishing a university in the city; and they nobly chose the latter. The university afterwards included among its leaders, Scaliger, Gomarus, Arminius, Grotius, Descartes, and Boerhaave; and still has over eight hundred students, with magnificent scientific collections. In the seventeenth century, the city was the home of wealth and comfort, and numbered treble its present population.

Here the vivid imagination of the youth was stimulated by the frequent pompous processions of

the veteran civic guards, the brilliant displays of the vain-glorious municipality, and the concourse of strangers from all countries at the annual free markets. These latter began on the anniversary day of the deliverance of the city from the Spaniards, and continued for ten days, while the city was draped with banners, festoons, and flowers. Merry-andrews and musicians paraded the streets, in the midst of groups of foreign merchants, musketeers, citizens, comely Dutch dames, and wide-eyed rustics. The day of military parades was succeeded by that of public games, and that, by the scenes and allegories of the rhetoricians.

At these splendid festivals, the art-loving youth found his highest enjoyment in the city-hall, whose long and ornate façade fronted on Broad Street. In the spacious chambers thereof, he could see not only the pictures by Engelbrechtsen and Lucas van Leyden, owned by the city; but also ever-changing collections of paintings by foreign masters, which were admitted into Leyden only at this time. Furthermore, the hall contained costly articles in gold and silver, jewels, books, and fine cabinet-work, and the choicest goods on exhibition.

Without and beyond the city the sombre seven-

teenth century was passing on. The United Provinces were at truce with Spain; but within their borders a bitter war of pamphleteers and polemic theologians was going on. In 1619 this combat culminated in the execution of Olden Barneveldt, the champion of the States, by order of the Prince of Orange. Meanwhile the arts and sciences were advancing with equal step, and Europe beheld with amazement the rising power and intellect of the Low Countries, and the marvellous enterprise and daring of their world-encircling mariners. A new literature arose under Roemer Visscher and Spiegel, less refined than the mediæval, but fresh, vigorous, and serious.

Since the days of Lucas van Leyden the wealthy city from which he derived his name had been one of the chief centres of northern art. During Rembrandt's childhood there were about twenty artists of inferior rank residing in Leyden, who vainly petitioned to be incorporated into a guild. Among these was Isaac Nicolai van Swanenburg, who was also a municipal magistrate for thirty-two consecutive years, as well as a burgomaster, a curator of the orphans, and a member of the Council of Forty. He was the head of the ancient and influential

Swanenburg family, whose coat-of-arms was three golden swans on a blue shield; and married a patrician damsel of Leyden, the daughter of Joost Dedel. Of their ten children, three became artists: Claes, who settled at the Hague; William, who excelled in engraving, and was an officer of the civic guard; and Jacob, the eldest, famous only as Rembrandt's teacher in art. Jacob learned the elementary principles of his profession from his father, and then went to Italy to perfect himself in its higher branches. He spent much of his time at Naples, where he married Margherita Cordona. Afterwards he returned to Leyden with his Italian bride, and took a house in the Broad Street. None of his paintings remain to our day, neither engravings of them, and it is impossible to conjecture what manner of works they were.

Swanenburg had returned from Italy by 1617, and it is probable that Rembrandt entered his studio about the year 1620, a memorable date beyond the Atlantic. During the three years of his sojourn there, the young student learned the art of design and the use of the brush, and the chief technical and material parts of his profession. He was also introduced to the circle of local artists and

their studios and discussions, if, indeed, there was any advantage in thus mingling with mediocrity.

Swanenburg was probably chosen by Harmen van Ryn as his son's instructor, partly on account of his illustrious family, his studies in Italy, and his resultant classic ideas. Still he was by no means the best artist in Leyden, and the chief reason of his having been chosen was his kinship with the Van Ryn family.

Many writers suppose that Jan Pinas was one of Rembrandt's instructors, because his brown hues resemble those of the older master, and his choice of subjects was often similar. Pinas studied in Italy, under Elsheimer, and attained the ability of managing strong Caravaggiesque effects of light and shade. But none of the early biographers of Rembrandt mention his connection with this master.

After he had acquired the foundation-principles of his profession, under Swanenburg, the lad was removed from his tuition, and carried to Amsterdam, where he was placed in the studio of Lastman. Pieter Lastman was born about the year 1582, probably in Amsterdam, and received his art-education in the studio of Pieter Gerritszoon,

a graduate of Antwerp and of Rome. About the year 1602 he went to Rome, and joined the circle of Dutch artists whereof Elsheimer was the centre, and accepted their manner of design and execution. His works while in Italy were devoid of supernaturalism and conventionalism. and showed forth the sweet and touching southern landscapes of Elsheimer's new school, with a fair and refreshing human sentiment. Then there ensued a period of less noble work, a state of transition, which was followed by his conscientious adhesion to the new naturalistic school of Caravaggio, whose "swarthy and roasted" manner he transplanted to Holland. After the return to Amsterdam, Lastman married, and settled down to earnest work. His pictures were much sought after, and Vondel called him "the Apelles of the century." Among Lastman's scholars were his son Nicholas, Jan Lievens, Roodtsens, and Nedek. Still it is difficult to imagine why Harmen van Ryn selected him as the boy's teacher, when Mierevelt, Van Ravensteyn, and Hals were at his service.

The dates of the lad's entrance into Lastman's studio was 1622 or 1623, when he was about six-

teen years old. After a sojourn of only six months, he returned to Leyden and to the paternal fireside, where he remained for seven years. The Van Ryn family was still living in the Weddesteeg lane, and was then composed of the two parents, and their children Gerrit, Machteld, Cornelis, and Lysbeth. Adriaen, the oldest son, after vainly trying his fortune as a shoemaker, had established a mill just across the Rhine from that of his father, near whose house he had his own home. He had married Lysbeth van Leeuwen in 1617, and had three children. Willem van Ryn, another brother, was living with Gerritszoon, the baker, on the Koepoortsgracht.

It is probable that if Rembrandt had wished to journey into Italy, as was the custom with the Dutch art-students of that time, he could easily have obtained the means therefor, from the fortune of his parents. But he seems to have manifested no inclination to travel, or to learn how to reflect the stagnating systems of foreign art-schools; and the thought of the Italian masterpieces of the previous century, or of the rising fame of Rubens, failed to entice him from his home by the walls of Leyden. Did he not feel

that in him was to be realized the perfection of Dutch art, — nay, of the art of the future?

He began the close and loving study of Nature — overlooking the Rhine winding among green pastures, while he reclined on the high Pelican Bastion; wandering over the spacious landscapes, banded with silvery canals, which he sought in his suburban rambles; sketching among the outer farms and groves, near the Van Ryn gardens; or scrutinizing the marvellous effects of the sunlight and clouds, the harmony of Nature's hues, and the transparency of her shadows. Again, he studied men, their physiognomies, traits of countenance, movements, and expressions. His family and his own figure supplied him with models, exhibiting a variety almost infinite. Most of all, he earnestly applied himself to master the relations of light, combining the tentative efforts of his predecessors with the new principles which revealed themselves to him, and with the mysterious and fantastic effects of which he dreamed.

The first work attributed to Rembrandt was executed in 1627, and represents St. Paul in Prison. It is a brightly colored painting, realistic in manner, and shows the influence of Jan Pinas, who, if

he was not indeed the teacher of the young artist, was at least carefully studied by him. Rembrandt's first etchings were executed in 1628, and portrayed his mother, a woman of strong character, with contracted eyes and a decided mouth. They were lightly engraved, and showed the power and skill of a practised artist.

In 1628, also, Rembrandt took his first student, a youth of fifteen, by the name of Gerard Dou. He was the son of a Frisian glazier who had married and settled in Leyden; and was apprenticed before to an engraver and to a glass-painter. Dou remained in Rembrandt's studio for three years, and there laid the foundations of his future greatness.

In 1629 the artist etched his own portrait, showing his bright young face overlooked by masses of bristling blonde hair. During the next few years he repeated this easily accessible subject many times, in a great variety of expressions, thus receiving a valuable practice, and leaving for us a large series of autobiographical engravings.

The first oil-paintings of indubitable authenticity as Rembrandt's were executed in 1630. One of these, now lost, showed a philosopher in a grotto; the other, in the Cassel Gallery, is the portrait of a

lean and white-bearded man, carefully finished, and touched on the face with a magical light. This portrait was the prototype and precursor of a long line of noble likenesses, and showed the confidence and individuality of a skilful colorist.

Already the fame of Rembrandt of the Rhine had spread abroad. He had visited the Hague, and met the connoisseurs of that city successfully. Many times he had been invited to Amsterdam, to execute portraits and other commissions; and in the year 1630 he removed his studio to the great city by the Zuyder Zee, and prepared to place himself at the head of the new school of Dutch art.

CHAPTER II.

Rembrandt in Amsterdam. — The Dutch Venice. — Works of 1630–31. — "The School of Anatomy." — Pupils. — The Literati of Holland.

In 1630 Rembrandt established himself at Amsterdam, which was then the greatest commercial city in Europe. During the previous century it had enriched itself at the cost of Antwerp and the Flemish cities, whose inhabitants had fled hither during the long and desolating Spanish wars, transferring to the shores of the Zuyder Zee their busy manufactories and far-voyaging fleets. The Dutch East-India Company also had recently established itself here, and was rapidly increasing in wealth and power, while its ponderous ships carried on a lucrative traffic with the ports of Batavia and southern Asia. The canals of "the Venice of the North" were almost blockaded with vessels of all sizes, bearing every known maritime flag; and the adjacent streets were filled with ever-busy throngs. The city was then the centre of the northern civili-

zation, cultured, luxurious, and full of political and intellectual activities. The long era of the religious persecution, directed by the Protestant clergy of the dominant sect against all who dissented from their views, had been ended in 1629, when the magistrates freed themselves from ecclesiastical direction. The peace of tolerance settled like a divine blessing over the Netherlands, and was scarcely broken by the ensuing noiseless fusillade of polemical pamphlets, the last shots of the long battle.

The architecture of Amsterdam was quaintly picturesque, charming to an artist's eye, and full of local color. The mariner, approaching from the sea, saw a line of palaces along the quays of the Y, overlooked by scores of dark spires and pinnacles. The rambler in the various streets and along the countless canals continually met with interesting bits of sculpture and house-decoration, marking a new and original style in building. The architects who guided the construction of the city during this period of expansion were Hendrick de Keyser and Danckerts de Ry, who had studied and admired the Italian Renaissance buildings of Scamozzi, the beautifier of Venice; and on this rich style they

ingrafted all the grotesqueness and individualism of the Protestant North. The façades of the citizens' houses were incrusted with singular ornaments, Biblical bas-reliefs, medallions, allegories, scripture texts, verses, proverbs, or obscure and ponderous inscribed jokes.

At this time Hendrick de Keyser was already dead, but his three sons were promising painters; and his venerable colleague, Danckerts de Ry, still lived to overlook his art-loving descendants, Danckerts the engravers. Among the chief artists at this time in Amsterdam were the brothers Camphuysen; Lastman, who had guided Rembrandt in his earlier studies; Pieter Potter, of Enkkuyzen; Aert Pieters, celebrated for portraits; Simon de Vlieger, excelling in landscapes; Emanuel de Witt, young and unruly, but unapproachable in painting superb church interiors; and Torrentius, the painter of the voluptuous, and the hardy opponent of the clergy.

Rembrandt's new studio was on the Bloemgracht, one of the western quays of the city; and here commissions poured in upon him rapidly. Numerous pupils also came; and, in order to accommodate them properly, the master formed

several small studios in the hall by erecting partitions.

Roeland Roghman was one of Rembrandt's nearest and most appreciative friends, and among his most efficient allies. He was some ten years older, of similar tastes in art and peculiarities of character, original, firm, and indefatigable. Throughout their lives these two men were fast friends; Roghman remaining unmarried, unhonored in public life, reproached for his manner in painting, lamenting in his old age that "By the time one begins to know things, he is worn out," and finally expiring in a hospital, a quarter of a century after his comrade's death.

Two of Rembrandt's admiring imitators entered the Guild of Painters in 1630. These were Nicolaes Moyaert, the disciple of Elsheimer, and his pupil Solomon Koninck, the son of a fugitive jeweller of Antwerp. The latter devoted himself to painting portraits and historical subjects, following closely the manner of Rembrandt, and manifesting similar chiaroscuro and coloring. Another young Rembranesque artist, who afterwards wrought out an independent manner, was Jan Lievens, one of the noblest of Holland's painters.

Jan George van Vliet, the young patrician of Delft, was among the first disciples and friends of Rembrandt, and fully entered into the sentiment of his great works. He reproduced the designs of his young leader in fine and delicate engravings, surprisingly strong in their lights and shades, and full of energetic and picturesque effects. Van Vliet was the first of the long line of engravers who attached themselves to the rising genius, and one of the most sympathetic and successful, in spite of his inaccurate drawing and excessive contrasts.

The two first years, 1630 and 1631, were full of earnest work and unceasing activity, as their productions manifest. Among these were the St. Jerome, now at Aix-la-Chapelle; the lost pictures of Lot and his Daughters, and the Baptism of the Eunuch; and several existing portraits. About forty engravings date from the same period, a score of which are picturesque and skilfully executed studies of old men, beggars, and *genre*-subjects, while two others portray the Bath of Diana and the Meeting of Danae and Jupiter. Several sketches and designs of this date are also preserved.

Rembrandt has been called "The Prince of

Etchers," and he merits the title by his establishment of a new school of engraving, of the highest excellence. He used not only the etching-needle, but also the dry point; and often employed the graver in finishing. The apparent confusion of lines in his works of this character is made to form surprising and wonderful results, full of indescribable charm, and evincing the profoundest knowledge of the principles of light and shade. All of his engravings were made by the process of etching, of which he gained a perfect mastery. Bartsch, Claussin, Blanc, Smith, and Vosmaer have each given lengthy descriptive catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings. The most complete collection of these works of art was brought together in London, in 1877, by the Burlington Fine-Arts Club, on which occasion Charles Henry Middleton contributed to "The Academy" a series of scholarly articles, entitled "Notes on Rembrandt."

In these early years Rembrandt delighted to make etchings of himself, in different positions and with varying expressions. In 1630–1 he reproduced himself in the following ways: Rembrandt with the furred bonnet; making a wry face; with curling hair; with haggard eyes; smiling; with

open mouth; with the large nose; with round face; with lifted hair; with round hat; with round furred hat; with squinting eyes; with hanging collar; with unequally furred bonnet; with darkened eyes; with falling bonnet; in *griffonements;* in an oval border; and in an octagon. His mother was also several times illustrated in the same way, with a variety of millinery.

In his new studio Rembrandt soon finished the beautiful painting of 'The Presentation in the Temple,' which is now at the Hague, and is highly prized as his first large work enriched by many figures. Herein he showed his radical divergence from the cold ghastliness of the early Dutch religious paintings, as well as from the mannered idealisms of Italian art, and his earnest search after truth, verisimilitude, and realism. Elsheimer, Pinas, and Lastman had already led the drift of northern art in this direction, substituting the plain practicality of Protestant interpretations for the dubious rhapsodies and ecstasies of the studios of the Latin nations.

The picture presents a great temple-interior, with groups of citizens and prelates, and in the centre, massed under a bright light, the Holy Family, with

the richly-robed Simeon adoring the Child Jesus. It is full of the strong shades and contrasting brightness of the new school of art, replete with poetic power and fresh personality, warm in golden lights, and in certain parts showing a rare minuteness of finish in detail. This subject was always a favorite with Rembrandt, and several other paintings thereof are preserved, together with numerous sketches and engravings, showing the venerable Simeon in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The 'Susanna' was executed during the same year, and is now at the Hague. The shrinking naked figure of the fair bather, though lacking in statuesque beauty and symmetry, is thoroughly natural and tender, palpitating with life, and lighted with a warm and harmonious glow. This also was a favorite theme with Rembrandt, and conveniently replaced the Diana and Actæon of the classical painters with a subject not less alluring, and perhaps more permissible.

To the year 1631 belongs the portrait, now at Brunswick, which is supposed to represent the eminent Hugo Grotius, "a monster of erudition," and a profound writer on law, history, philosophy, and theology — who had been condemned with

Olden Barneveldt, and fled to France, but returned to Holland in 1631. Another portrait represented George Ragotski, the Prince of Transylvania, whose domains were ground pitilessly between the upper and nether millstones of Austria and Turkey.

'The School of Anatomy' was executed in 1632, and is one of Rembrandt's most famous paintings. It shows the celebrated Dr. Tulp, dissecting and explaining the structure of the arm of a bare and livid corpse which lies on the table before him, while seven other sagacious and black-cloaked surgeons are listening to his remarks. The scene is in a vaulted hall; and the lecturer appears to be looking out beyond his associates, and addressing an audience not visible. Notwithstanding the strong light on the corpse, skilfully contrasted with the black costumes of the listeners, the attention of the spectator is usually concentrated on the fine portrait-faces of the doctors, full of serious dignity, and minutely finished, with charming color. In 1828 this picture was sold for the benefit of the fund for the surgeons' widows; and the Dutch government gave 32,000 florins for it, transferring it to the Hague Museum.

This was one of the master-works of a class of

paintings then popular in the Low Countries, in which the chiefs of the various guilds and corporations were portrayed with minute accuracy and surprising power. Italy had no portraits but those of her dukes and cardinals; and Spain employed Velazquez for four decades in delineating the features of her princes and grandees; but the United Provinces found their highest types of men in the tried and trusty burghers of their cities. The great corporation-pictures included the leaders of the various sections of the body politic, the militia officers, the most eminent merchants and manufacturers, the foremost professional men, the magistrates of the cities, and the elect artisans.

Tulp was celebrated both as a doctor, an anatomist, and a pharmacist, and was professor of anatomy from 1628 to 1653, giving semi-weekly lectures. It is probable that Rembrandt attended these discourses, since he was strongly interested in such subjects; and Tulp is said to have been not only his patron, but his warm friend. He was perhaps led to choose Rembrandt as the painter of his guild, on account of this previous acquaintance with him. The officers of the surgeons' corporation had been admirably portrayed thirty years

before, by Aert Pietersen; and later pictures of the same theme had been executed by De Keyser and Elias. The general ordering of the new work, therefore, was suggested and guided by these three preceding ones; though the profound genius which enriched and illuminated the subject was the master's own.

In 1632 Rembrandt also painted the first of several portraits of Lieven Willemszoon van Coppenol, a semi-literary gentleman of Amsterdam who seems to have been fond of seeing pictures of himself, since he patronized several of the resident artists in this way. Coppenol was a skilful penman, as calligraphy went in those days; and his achievements in this direction called forth the tuneful praise of no less than seven Dutch poets, and the homage of numerous artists. He remained for many years a warm personal friend of Rembrandt, who was a few years his junior. The first portrait is now at Cassel, and is an admirable work, full of nature, finished in minute detail, rich in equal lights, and interpenetrated with character. Coppenol is seated in an arm-chair, trimming a quill with a penknife, with both his delicate and adroit hands at breast-height, while he lifts his head from his work, and looks out of the picture.

During the same year Rembrandt executed several other portraits, the best of which was that of Dr. Kalkoen, full of dark, rich colors, and easy in arrangement. Other works of this class represented Martin Looten, the secretary Maurits Huygens, and other officers and gentlemen of Amsterdam. There were also six portraits of ladies, two of which are supposed to have been taken from Saskia Ulenburgh, the Frisian beauty who afterwards won the master's heart, and shared his home.

About the same time Rembrandt illustrated the legends of Europa and Proserpine with brilliant pictures, and executed other paintings of 'Moses Saved from the Nile,' 'Christ and Nicodemus,' and 'St. Anastasius.' The etchings of 1632 were not numerous; but one of them was the celebrated 'Resurrection of Lazarus,' a grandiose and highly expressive composition, in which several innovations were made.

During the negotiations between Belgium and Holland at this time, Rubens spent several days in the latter country; but there is no mention of his having met Rembrandt, although he visited numerous studios. It is astonishing that two such masters, living so near each other, should

never have met nor had communication with each other.

The next year was not less busy in Rembrandt's studio. The larger paintings were 'Susanna Surprised by the Elders,' now in Russia, and 'The Boat of St. Peter,' a powerful conception, showing dark storm-shadows surrounding the sea-tossed bark, with a high light thrown on the nearer mountain-like waves, and on the men at the sails. 'The Elevation of the Cross,' and 'The Descent from the Cross,' were bought by the Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry, and afterwards passed into the Düsseldorf Gallery, and from thence to Munich. They are dark and terrible scenes, full of striking effects, and illuminated by narrow and intense lights. 'The Philosophers in Meditation,' are two delicate and picturesque *genre*-pictures, now in the Louvre, abounding in careful study and rare refinement.

The finest portrait of this year was 'The Master Shipbuilder and his Wife,' now at Buckingham Palace, a work of splendid harmony and individuality. The white-bearded constructor appears in his study, modelling a section of a

ship, and turns half-impatiently towards the lady, who is bringing in a note. Other portraits of this year are those of Madame Grotius (so called), at Brunswick; a youth, at Dresden; a richly dressed and energetic young man, in the late Pourtalés Collection; and no less than sixteen others, including two of the artist himself.

About this time, also, he introduced a new manner of portrait-painting, startling in its chiaroscuro, with a profound black in the backgrounds, and deep shadows on the faces, except on the cheek, nose, and shoulder, where vivid lights fall. This sensational method was powerfully effective, and was altogether a novelty in northern art. Examples of Rembrandt's work in this vein may be seen in portraits now at Cassel and Gotha, and in Van Vliet's engravings of several lost pictures of the period between 1631 and 1634.

Among the numerous etchings of this year the best was a large reproduction of 'The Descent from the Cross.' This work was exposed for sale, together with 'The Good Samaritan,' a subject which he also reproduced in a small painting, now in Lord Hertford's collection. Four new engravings of the artist's own portrait appeared

this year, one of which was the well-known 'Rembrandt with the Bird of Prey.' Another interesting work was an illustration for the poem of 'The Praise of Navigation,' a long and quaint rhymed history by Herckmans, as devoid of rhythm as the choppy waves of the Zuyder Zee, but full of amusing details, — the voyage of Noah, the wars of Germanicus, St. Paul on the Mediterranean, etc. The picture is called 'The Bark of Fortune,' and shows scenes from the life of St. Paul, ending with his shipwreck at Malta. The Acts of the Apostles were evidently followed more carefully than the rugged lines of Herckmans; and the master's intimate acquaintance with the text of the Bible is shown in all the details of his work.

The genius of Rembrandt quickly made itself felt throughout the narrow circle of Lowland art, and conquered all opposition with its combined vigor and delicacy, masterly chiaroscuro, and originality of design. Houbraken, the Dutch Vasari, said that artists who wished to please the public were forced to adopt the new manner; and Dou, Lievens, and Van Vliet closely followed the master's footsteps. Koninck was so impressed with the ne-

cessity of close imitation, that he even secured the same models that Rembrandt employed.

Notwithstanding the exhaustive fecundity of the master's brain, and the prodigious number of pictures and engravings issuing from his studio, he found time to impart thorough instruction to several brilliant pupils. One of these was Ferdinand Bol, a native of Dordrecht, who entered the studio about 1630, and acquired the Rembranesque manner so fully, that some of his portraits might pass for works of his great teacher, and were celebrated in Vondel's poetry. He also became eminent as an engraver, following the same efficient guidance. Bol was on intimate social relations with Rembrandt, and painted pleasing portraits of him and of Saskia (now in the Brussels Museum).

Govaert Flinck was another member of the studio-company. He was from Cleves, and had been sent to Amsterdam by his father to learn the details of mercantile life; but felt a strong preference for painting, and neglected the counting-room desk in favor of the easel. His father at last allowed him to enter the studio of Lambert Jacobs, an inferior Frisian painter, which he deserted for that of Rembrandt about the year 1633. He remained

several years, dwelling a part of the time at the house of Hendrick Ulenburgh; and became one of the foremost of Dutch historical painters, largely patronized by the magistrates of Amsterdam and Prince Maurice of Orange, and winning high admiration for his skilful groupings and designs, and his pure and chaste coloring. He also made many famous portraits; but it is said by Descamps that he abandoned this field after seeing Van Dyck's masterpieces.

Jacob Backer was another of Lambert Jacobs's pupils who entered Rembrandt's studio. He followed the manner of his master successfully, until the tide of critical favor changed in favor of "the grand style," when he embraced historical and mythological painting on an imposing scale.

Of these three students in the first period of Rembrandt's teaching, Bol was the foremost, excelling in depth, freedom, and spirit. Flinck had a more commanding personal appearance; but his plain and unpolished comrade was richer in naturalness and naïveness of manner.

Two other and earlier pupils of the first period were Jan de Wet and Willem de Poorter. The former was a member of an artistic family, and

painted Rembrandt's favorite subjects in his original manner. Poorter was from Haarlem, and was a feeble designer and a cold colorist.

The heads of Netherland literature at this time were Joost van den Vondel, the lyric poet and dramatist, and Pieter Hooft, the historian and poet The latter, a fearless and heroic opponent of the intolerant clericals, gathered around himself a group of choice spirits, including the dramatist Coster, and the literati Voss, Reael, Starter, and Vechters, whose re-unions occurred frequently in Hooft's rich saloons at Amsterdam, or at his château of Muiden.

Rembrandt had but slight connection with these eminent literati, who were his contemporaries in Amsterdam, and therefore missed the eulogies which they lavished on his brother-artists. But he was on terms of close intimacy with Constantyn Huygens, the scholar and poet, who had befriended him even before he left Leyden. Huygens was the councillor and secretary of the Stadtholder Frederick Henry; and when that prince furnished and decorated the Lowland palaces, on his assumption of the government in 1625, the poet-councillor secured the direction of their art-galleries. He

corresponded with many eminent artists, and enriched the Stadtholder's palaces with portraits, historical scenes, landscapes, and cabinet-pictures, by Rubens, Honthorst, and other Dutch artists, and statuary by Dienssaert.

CHAPTER III.

Saskia, Rembrandt's Bride. — Her Manifold Portraits. — Tobias. — Works of 1634–36. — Manasseh Ben-Israel. — The Van Ryn Family at Leyden.

VOSMAER likens the history of Rembrandt's life to one of his pictures, — full of vague shadows in the background, but lighted up from time to time by luminous figures. The brightest of these was Saskia van Ulenburgh, who afterwards became the light of the artist's household, and the fountain of all his domestic joys.

Her father was the jurisconsult, Rombertus Ulenburgh, burgomaster of Leeuwarden, and envoy to the court of William of Orange, a friend of the taciturn prince, and one of the foremost men of Friesland. He had three sons and six daughters, whereof two of the first became barristers, and one entered the army. Five of the daughters were well married, their husbands being Professor Maccovius, Secretary van Loo, Commissary Copal, Doede Ockama, and Wybrand de Geest. The last-

named, who married Hendrikje Ulenburgh, was "endowed with the graces of Minerva and of Apelles," and, while studying in Rome, had been entitled "The Frisian Eagle." He had acquired great wealth and renown in Friesland, by his excellent portrait-painting; and was thus able to ally himself with one of its most aristocratic families.

In 1624 Rombertus Ulenburgh died; and his youngest daughter Saskia, then but twelve years old, was left to make a home with one of her sisters, or perhaps with her aunt and namesake, who lived at Garyp. Her cousin Aaltje had married Sylvius, a Frisian minister, who moved to Amsterdam in 1610; another cousin, Hendrick, was an art-merchant at Amsterdam; and a younger Rombertus Ulenburgh had settled in the same city as an historical painter. There is nothing strange in the fact that the members of this literary and artistic family knew the young Rembrandt, whose superb portraits and composition-pictures had already gained a wide fame in their city. During his visits, he met, at one of their houses, the charming orphan Saskia.

About this time the artist had developed a warm intimacy with the venerable minister, Jan Cornelis

Sylvius, of whom he painted a fine portrait, showing a strong and expressive face, in meditation over an open book. At the same time he executed two portraits of the preacher's cousin Saskia, — fresh, *naïve*, and smiling. In the latter part of the year, this young lady returned to the Frisian town of Franeker, in whose university her sister Antje's husband was a professor. Antje was sick unto death; and, after her demise, the fair guest managed the household of her learned brother-in-law until the next summer, when she went to visit with her sister Hiskia, at St. Annakerck of Bildt.

Saskia was immortalized by the pencil of Rembrandt in many ways, as if he could not too often depict her fresh and beautiful colors, brilliant eyes, and luxuriant hair. As Diana, Delilah, Bathsheba, Titania, a decorous dame of Holland, a loving wife on her husband's knee, or watching him at his labors, Saskia appears in all her beauty, arrayed with the picturesque costumes and jewelry of the studio. After contemplating her features, one can well believe the dry remark of the latest tourists' guide (Baedeker, 1874), that "the Frisian women, especially those of Leeuwarden, enjoy a great reputation for beauty." An enthusiastic Dutch writer

says that Saskia was to Rembrandt what Vittoria Colonna was to Michael Angelo, or Monna Lisa to Leonardo da Vinci, or Beatrice to Dante.

In 1633 Rembrandt painted three elaborate portraits of his betrothed, the lovely Saskia. One of these is in the Dresden Museum, and shows her smiling, with parted lips, while she is robed in light blue damask and adorned with pearls. The portrait in the late Fesch Gallery is of a more pleasing character and more careful execution, displaying the maiden's snowy complexion, great deep eyes, rosy lips, and rich auburn hair, adorned with white and green plumes, and wearing pearls on her neck and a chain of gold on her green silk mantilla. The picture at Cassel shows her fresh, fair face in full light, with a delicate profile and a finely formed nose, while the body is in shadow. The costume is very rich and picturesque, pearl-strewn as a sultana's robe; and the finish of the painting is at once powerful and minute. This portrait was probably made for the lady herself, or for her family, and bears evidence that the artist knew that its future owners would appreciate a microscopically minute work better than one of more breadth and brusqueness.

The Teyler Museum, at Haarlem, contains two beautiful India-ink sketches on blue paper, representing young Rembrandt, with his meagre moustache, and his pretty blonde bride, full and plump of face, and sparkling-eyed. A delicious sketch in the Berlin Museum reveals Saskia once more, accompanied with the puzzling inscription: "This is the portrait of my wife (*huysvrouw*), made when she was twenty-one years old, the third day of our marriage, June 8, 1633." The date seems to be a year wrong.

Perhaps it is as well that the Dutch biographer, after noting certain facts about the Ulenburgh family, and showing how our artist might naturally have known them socially, proceeds, with simple directness, to copy the official registry of marriages in 1634: "Rembrandt Harmens van Ryn, of Leyden, twenty-six years of age, dwelling in the Breedstraat, whose mother will consent, appeared before the commissaries, and also Saskia van Ulenburgh, of Leeuwarden, dwelling in Bildt at St. Annakerck, for whom has appeared Jan Cornelis [Sylvius], preacher, as cousin of the said Saskia, preparing himself to furnish the legal inscription of the said Saskia, before the third publication."

The young artist now laid aside his pencils for a time, in favor of more fascinating employment. Hurrying to Leyden, he secured his mother's consent to the nuptials, drawn up in full form by a skilful notary. Then he sped away northward, across the Zuyder Zee, to Friesland, whose rich pastures and blue lakes, far below sea-level, stretched around the house of the beloved Saskia. Late in June the marriage was contracted in the town-hall of Bildt, and then solemnized in the Church of St. Anna. Gerrit van Loo, the secretary of the commune, was the brother-in-law of the bride; and we can well believe that the ceremonies were worthy of the old Friesland fame.

The young couple soon returned from Friesland to Amsterdam, and settled in the house which Rembrandt had previously occupied. This home was in the spacious and airy Breedstraat, one of the most modern streets of the expanding city; and was near the house of the artist Lastman.

Saskia was but twenty-one years of age when she was married. The question still remains unanswered, why this young, beautiful, and aristocratic lady gave herself to a poor artist of ordinary family, lacking in physical attractiveness and in polished

manners. She brought him not only an honorable alliance with an illustrious house, but also a handsome fortune, calculated to ease his way for many years.

But the year 1634 was not altogether devoted to wedding journeys and bridal junketings; for a goodly number of valuable pictures are marked with that date. Besides the Madrid 'Artemis,' there were 'The Repentance of St. Peter,' 'The Incredulity of St. Thomas' (now at St. Petersburg), 'Judas and the Blood-Money,' and 'The Large Descent from the Cross.' The latter was perhaps the same that hung in Rembrandt's house, and afterwards passed into the galleries at Malmaison, Cassel, and St. Petersburg. It is a profound and realistic design, illuminated by powerful and unusual coloring, — showing a night-scene lit up by torches.

The portraits of this year are worthy of special notice; and foremost among them are three of full length and life size. Martin Day, a Dutch officer of English origin, and a veteran of the campaigns in Brazil, is commemorated by a living and speaking portrait, richly colored, and calmly and delicately finished in all its parts. Another full-

length represents the Rev. Mr. Ellison, of the English Church at Amsterdam, — a stately and gray-bearded gentleman, sitting in a leather chair in his library. The companion-picture shows the aged Mrs. Ellison, robed in black, and wearing a quaint broad hat. These two, after sojourning for over two centuries in English rectories and country-seats, were sold in London in 1860, for about $9,000, and afterwards entered the Schneider Collection at Paris.

Another calmly-conceived and carefully-wrought portrait represents the blacksmith-poet Jan Hermans Krul, the author of "The World in Paper" (*Pampiere Wereld*), which was illustrated by one of Rembrandt's followers. Still others portrayed Dr. Tulp and his wife (a venerable dame of 83 years); a lady shepherdess; and Admiral van Dorp. The latter was a brother-in-law of Constantyn Huygens, the poet; and by his introduction the intimacy between the artist and Huygens was probably inaugurated.

The portraits which Rembrandt made of himself at this time are prepared with more freedom and variety than the preceding pictures, in whose execution he was probably trammelled by the direc-

tions of the subjects. The one now at Cassel displays an energetic face under a plumed casque, with mellow shades and a firm touch. The Berlin examples are richly clad and carefully elaborated; that at the Hague shows him as a military officer, with remarkable effects of light and shade; the Pitti-Palace example is chiefly notable for the absence of a beard; and that in the Louvre but slightly resembles the artist. These frequent repetitions of his own features were not due to any personal vanity on the part of the master, but served as so many studies of new modes of arrangement and shading. He was restrained from such experimental work on the portraits of his patrons, and therefore made scores of tentative studies from his own face.

The new engraving of Saskia shows that favorite lady with her long hair banded with three lines of pearls, while her figure is assuming a matronly *embonpoint.* Another, of about this time, contains Saskia and two other ladies, drawn with the utmost delicacy and vividness. Still another, called 'The large Jewish Wife,' develops the same familiar features and customary pearls, the lady being covered with a dressing-robe, and seated in an arm-chair.

A fine painting of the same subject is presented at London; and another, closely resembling it, rich and powerful in all parts, is in the Madrid Museum. The London picture is called, 'Bathsheba Receiving David's Message;' and the other is 'Artemis.' These smaller pictures are all reproduced in the great 'Feast of Samson' (or of Ahasuerus), in the Dresden Museum, where Saskia appears in this same attitude, apparently in the character of Delilah, — so that the traditional name of 'The Jewish Wife' is nearly correct. Again the pretty housewife of the artist appeared in his long-lost painting of 'Vertumnus and Pomona,' where she represented the goddess of fruit.

Eleven other portraits executed in 1634 have disappeared, and are remembered only by engravings. One of these represented the famous magistrate, Lancelot van Brederode, whose tolerant spirit opposed the persecution of the Remonstrants. Contemporary with these were five sketches and sixteen engravings, four of which were religious scenes, one a landscape, and five portraits of Rembrandt. One of the latter is arrayed in the splendid apparel of a Hungarian prince, and shows some of the most exquisite work of the master. The most notable of

the engravings, however, was 'The Annunciation to the Shepherds,' a brilliant and powerful composition, drawn with the nervous rapidity of inspiration.

A year after their marriage, Rembrandt and Saskia journeyed once more into Friesland, to the village in which their wedding had taken place, and attended the baptismal service of Madame van Loo's infant daughter. A few months later, and Saskia herself had a child, which was baptized in the Oude Kerk on Dec. 15, assuming the name of Rumbartus, in memory of its grandfather. Francis Copal, one of the most friendly of the brothers-in-law, was then living at the maritime city of Flushing, in distant Zeeland, and was represented at the christening by the venerable Sylvius.

Vosmaer refers to 1635 eight portraits and seven other paintings, nine designs, and twenty-three etchings. Prominent among the paintings was the vigorous and forcible 'Adolph of Guelders Menacing his Father,' which is otherwise entitled 'Samson Threatening his Father-in-Law,' and is now one of the treasures of the Berlin Museum. 'The Rape of Ganymede,' now at Dresden, portrays a huge brown eagle bearing upward a chubby child,

Rembrandt
f. 1654

who expresses his terror in various and novel ways. This honest and practical Dutch version of the ancient myth, devoid of conventional forms and opposed to the Italian ideas, has failed to be comprehended by many critics, who have affected to consider it a parody. The general tone of the picture is olive-green; and the principal figures are executed with striking fidelity and strong character.

The portraits of the year included the artist himself, a coldly executed work; Saskia, the joyous beauty, in two pictures representing her as a Jewish bride; a cuirassed officer with his hand upon his sword-hilt; two busts of old men; and a young lady, black-robed and adorned with pearls.

In the same year the master made a superb etching of the aged Johannes Uyttenboogaert, which was accompanied by a set of Latin verses from the pen of Grotius. The subject aforenamed was a friend of the artist, eminent in theology, and an active leader of the Remonstrants, after whose defeat he was banished, and remained in exile, with Grotius and Episcopius, until the accession of Prince Frederick Henry. Other etchings were those of the three heads of Asiatics, which certain

connoisseurs think were only retouched by Rembrandt; several busts of old men; Christ and the Tribute-Money; and the Crucifixion.

De Piles asserts that Rembrandt visited Venice in 1635; but Descamps says that this idea arose from the fact that he put the name of Venice on several etchings, so that they might bring better prices. The same French critic adds that the master continually threatened to remove to England, Sweden, Germany, or France, in order to cause his works to bring higher prices at home; though he never left Amsterdam after he had once settled there. The demonstrable inaccuracy of the latter statement may well make us somewhat doubtful of the former, as well as of all others of the superficial and sciolistic Parisian biographer. Equally unlikely is the story that Rembrandt at one time secreted himself for a long period, and caused his family to give out that he was dead, in order to increase the popular estimation and the price of his works.

The designs of Rembrandt, though lacking the minute finish of modern aquarelles, are full of interest and charm. They were studies from nature, *genre*-sketches, the first draughts of subsequently

elaborated ideas, quickly and nervously blocked out with pencil, crayon, or other material, and intended for the artist's eye alone. Two of the most interesting of these are at Amsterdam and Berlin, and are adaptations of the famous Italian painting of 'The Last Supper,'—'Da Vinci translated into Rembrandt.'

In 1635 and 1636 the master portrayed three scenes from the history of Tobias. The first is now in the Berlin Museum, and shows the blind father awaiting his son's return; and the second, in the same collection, contains Tobias and his wife, seated in a chamber. The third is in the Berlin Museum, and illustrates the scene of Tobias restoring sight to his father. It is a finely elaborated and harmonious work, rich in delicate gray and brown tints, and striking in its chiaroscuro. In 1637 this favorite subject is again brought forth, in two pictures of the angel and the family of Tobias, one of which is in the Louvre, and the other is in the Wombwell Collection. The Louvre picture is a reproduction of Martin van Heemskerk's engraving of the same scene, enriched by warm and brilliant coloring. The original design in India ink is at the Dresden Museum.

Vosmaer points out the fact that the now almost-forgotten Apocryphal Book of Tobias was a great favorite in the studios of the seventeenth century, before which its rich artistic capabilities were unknown. "In the Middle Ages they painted above all that which the Bible contained of the frightful and terrible, the apocalyptic side; in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Passion and the legends of the saints, the epic and heroic sides; in the seventeenth century, the Gospels, Tobias, etc., the humanistic and human side." Dou, Flinck, and other Dutch masters, illustrated the life of Tobias; and Rembrandt treated it in several paintings, designs, and etchings, besides those enumerated above.

In 1636 Rembrandt changed his residence to a house in the Nieuwe-Doele Street of Amsterdam. He was now busily engaged on three Passion-pictures, — 'The Entombment,' 'The Resurrection,' and 'The Ascension,' — companions to the Crucifixion scenes, painted for Prince Frederick Henry four years before, and intended for the same destination. These new pictures were finished with great and loving care, and were perfectly satisfactory to the artist himself.

During the year the master executed five religious pictures, three portraits, four designs, and ten etchings. Among the former were 'The Repose in Egypt,' now at Aix-la-Chapelle; 'The Ascension' in the Munich Pinakothek; and 'St. Paul,' in the Vienna Belvedere.

One of Rembrandt's neighbors and friends was the wonderful Jew, Manasseh Ben-Israel, who excelled alike in medicine, philosophy, science, and Rabbinical theology. He was the companion of Grotius, Hooft, Vossius, and other eminent scholars; the founder of the Hebrew printing-press at Amsterdam; and the envoy of the Dutch Jews to Cromwell. In 1636, the same year in which his *De Creatione Problematica et de Resurrectione Mortuorum* was published, the master painted a fine portrait of him, which is now lost; and also made an etching of the same subject. It has been suggested, that Rembrandt's disasters in later years were partly due to his devotion to the study of necromancy and the black art, in company with and under the influence of the old Rabbi Manasseh and Ephraim Bonus.

In May, 1636, the circle to which our artist belonged was pleasantly moved by new feasts of mar-

riage. It appears that Petrus Sylvius, the nephew of Rembrandt, was not satisfied with his dignities as pastor of Slooten, in Friesland, but aspired to the nominal headship of a family; and to compass this end he espoused Sibilla Dilburgh.

Since the death of Rembrandt's father, in 1632, his mother had lived alone with her youngest daughter, Lysbeth. Of her once pleasant company of children, Gerrit, Machteld, and Cornelis were dead; and Adriaen still tended his mill on the slow-moving Rhine, near the old home. One more brother remained, the doughty Willem, baker at Leyden, who abode in one of his mother's snug houses on the Rhine. In June of 1636 he married Willemgen, the widow of Jacob Symons van Leeuwen, and settled his ways in life.

CHAPTER IV.

Eeckhout and Koninck. — Frisian Litigation. — The Stadtholder's Pictures. — Rembrandt's Mother. — 'Susanna.' — Saskia's Children. — Portraits.

REMBRANDT'S life was now full of industry, and whoever wished to secure his work must needs pay well for it. He was restrained from attending the merry symposia of his easy-going brother-artists, both by his own simple tastes and by the requirements of his domestic establishment. A few earnest friends of kindred spirit were enough for him; and for the rest he spent many hours in rambling about amphibious Amsterdam, finding themes for sketches. His ruling mania was that of the *bric-à-brac* hunter; and he made frequent visits to the markets, the foreign ships, and the antiquarians, seeking for quaint furniture, weapons, costumes, and rare draperies. The collections which he made were worthy of a continental fame; and included also hundreds of pictures and engravings, which he bought at the public sales.

The full record of Rembrandt's activity cannot be set forth without alluding frequently to the pupils whom he imbued with his great ideas, and guided into the upward paths. After Flinck and Backer had left his studio, three new aspirants, Victor, Eeckhout, and Koninck, took their places between 1635 and 1640. Jan Victor was a talented student, who drank freely from the Rembranesque source, and acquired a wide versatility and a grand and vigorous manner, howbeit lacking in delicacy and transparency. Several of his pictures are direct reflections of his master's works; and he painted not only 'The Girl at the Window,' and 'Isaac Blessing Jacob,' — the stock subjects of all the pupils, — but also the favorite Biblical themes of Tobias and Samson.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout was first the pupil and afterwards the friend of Rembrandt. He was more successful in small pictures, full of sentiment and picturesque beauty, reflecting the manner and even the favorite subjects of the master, but enriched by the thoughts of his own free mind. Eeckhout was also a skilful and prolific designer, and made numerous etchings.

Philip Koninck was another member of the stu-

dio-family at this time, and developed a remarkable aptitude for landscape-painting, as well as for portraits and figures. His 'Sleeping Venus' called forth the poetic eulogies of the tuneful Vondel, whom the gratified artist afterwards portrayed several times with great skill. But it was through the merit of his glorious landscapes that he won a place in the great school of the seventeenth century. In 1656 he married Margareta van Ryn, who was a namesake and perhaps a kinswoman of his old master.

The first landscape was produced at this time, and is now at Cassel. It is only a study, but it is a delicious one, representing a Dutch winter-scene, with an ice-bound canal under a greenish-blue sky, groups of merry skaters, and a prosperous rural settlement in the background.

In 1636 the picture of 'Samson Blinded by the Philistines' was finished, showing the Hebrew hero prostrate under his enemies, with Delilah in flight. It is not one of the master's best works, and its authenticity has been freely doubted. A grander conception was the etching of the 'Ecce Homo,' a masterly composition, crowded with figures, and finished with affluent resources of inven-

tion. It is filled with dramatic fire, and contains some rare and expressive faces. Other etchings of this date represented 'The Prodigal Son,' 'Jesus and the Doctors,' and several quaint Dutch landscapes.

The beautiful portraits of Saskia, engraved in 1636, show the fine oval face, blue eyes, and pouting lips of the young housewife, who evidently still remains in good health and genial temper. In one of them she appears seated at a table face to face with her husband, as if in the domestic circle at evening.

One of the noble paintings which have disappeared from view, and are remembered only by engravings, is that representing a lady and gentleman, in a beautiful landscape, walking hand in hand. Their air and their costumes are both princely; and the background of rocks, woods, and falling waters, is executed with rare skill and attractiveness. Possibly these happy ramblers represented Rembrandt and his Saskia.

The productions of 1637 were four religious pictures, six portraits, and four etchings. Two of the first-named were from the life of Tobias, and a third delineated 'A Hermit in Prayer.' 'The

Lord of the Vineyard' was painted in 1637, and is now at the Hermitage Palace. It represents him as seated in a chamber which is flooded with golden light, listening to the complaints of his laborers. Three of the six portraits of this year were likenesses of the artist himself; another was that of a white-bearded burgomaster; and still another, "of an admirable beauty," was the head of an old woman.

In July, 1638, a daughter was born to Saskia, and was named Cornelia, after the mother of Rembrandt. The clergyman who baptized the child was the venerable Sylvius; and the witness was Titia, sister of Saskia, and wife of Copal, the dweller in sea-girt Flushing. But grief came full soon to the painter's home, for in less than four weeks little Cornelia died, and was buried in the Zuyder Kerk. Three months later, and Sylvius, the saintly old pastor, passed also to his reward.

The annals of the Frisian law-courts for 1638 give the details of several suits in which Rembrandt fought for the rights of his wife. In the first, he and his brothers-in-law successfully sued Dr. van Loo for the payments on a domain called Ulenburgh's Staele, one of the former appanages of the

Ulenburgh estate. Two months later, the same plaintiffs brought action against the non-paying tenants of another of the Ulenburgh farms. The litigious and fault-finding spirit which was raised in the family by these contests seems to have been prolonged into personal recriminations; for Rembrandt soon afterwards sued certain of his kinsfolk for slander, demanding the payment of damages. He says "that he and his wife are richly and *ex superabundanti* provided with goods (for which they can never be thankful enough to the Almighty); yet, notwithstanding that, the defendants insinuate that his wife Saskia has squandered her heritage in ornaments and ostentation." The alleged calumniators denied that their ill-tempered remarks applied to the painter and his wife; and the court dismissed the suit. Probably Saskia's rural kinspeople, simple and unostentatious souls, inferred an amazing extravagance from the priceless jewels with which she was adorned in her portraits, being unaware that these decorations were but an artistic trick, and that the royal necklaces and bracelets existed only in the master's imagination.

The great picture of 'The Feast of Ahasuerus,' or 'The Wedding of Samson,' was executed

in 1638, and is now at Dresden. At the middle of the table sits the joyful queen of the feast, Esther or Delilah, with the features of Saskia, superbly jewelled, and robed in white silk, with all the vivid light concentrated on her fair face and form. The surrounding groups of revellers are arranged with consummate skill, and are filled with life and with magic coloring. The prevailing shadows are in warm and rich tints of green, in the manner which Rembrandt used at this period.

The 'Christ as a Gardener,' or 'Noli me Tangere,' was finished in 1638, and was long owned by the Prince of Hesse-Cassel. In 1806 it was presented to the Empress Josephine, at La Malmaison; and was bought by King George IV. in 1816, for Buckingham Palace, where it still remains. The scene is in the garden, at morning, with the white-robed Christ appearing to Mary, and two angels guarding the empty tomb. This superb picture was celebrated in a sonnet by J. de Decker, the poet, and the friend of the artist. 'Joseph Telling his Dream,' 'Vertumnus and Pomona,' and other compositions, date from this period.

One of the chief etchings of this time was the so-called 'Little Jewish Bride,' representing St.

Catherine and her wheel of martyrdom. The features, hair, and pearls are those of Saskia. A new painting of the same year, now at Dresden, shows Rembrandt holding his wife on his knee, while both are smiling, and he lifts up a glass of foaming wine. The figures are of life-size, richly clad, with greenish shadows. The Dresden Gallery contains another fine painting of this period, with the favorite background of olive-green, and a deep, misty coloring. It represents a huntsman uplifting a pheasant, — the first being in the shadow, while the bird is in full light, and is worthy of Weenix himself.

In 1638 Govaert Flinck painted a picture of 'Isaac's Benediction,' in Rembrandt's manner, and signed it with his own name, thus formally indicating the fact that he had ceased to be a pupil, and was now a master. The same subject had been given by Rembrandt to his other pupils, Lievens, Eeckhout, Bol, and Aert de Gelder. This custom of the studio, in giving the same theme to several young students in succession, was carried out in most other cases, under the master's direction. Among these favorite test-subjects were Tobias, the studious philosopher, the call of Matthew, and the girl at a window.

Between 1635 and 1839, Rembrandt executed more than a score of portraits, — admirable works, full of expression and just physiognomy. The silvery tone and equal light of his earlier works in this department are replaced by novel and striking effects of chiaroscuro, and vivid lights flashing on illuminated heads. One of the noblest of these pictures represents a blonde-haired and fresh-visaged gentleman, in life-size; and is incorrectly called a likeness of Jan Six. It is now preserved in the Cassel Gallery, in a room containing three other superb life-sized portraits, — the Marquis del Guasto, by Titian, clad throughout in red; a gentleman, by Van Dyck, in a violet-colored costume embroidered with gold; and a stately personage by Rubens, arrayed in a violet suit with fur trimmings. Rembrandt's picture is worthy of its noble companions, and does not suffer by the inevitable comparison.

Other portraits executed by Rembrandt in 1639 show his mother, in a half-length and life-sized picture; the artist himself; a middle-aged lady in a black bonnet; and a gray-bearded old gentleman. Rembrandt produced four religious paintings, five portraits, and seven etchings, in 1639. Among the

former was 'The Two Brothers of Joseph Showing his Bloody Coat to their Father,' a graceful composition, in which little Benjamin is depicted as playing with a bird.

At this time also, Rembrandt finished 'The Entombment' and 'The Resurrection,' which he had begun three years before, at the order of the Stadtholder. In the letter to Huygens, announcing the completion of the work, the complacent artist said, "These two pieces are now finished with much of study and of zeal; . . . because it is in these that I have taken care to express the utmost of naturalness and action; and this is the principal reason why I have been occupied so long on them." In recognition of Huygens's services towards him, the master sent him also a small cabinet-picture as a memento, overruling the conscientious scruples of the sensitive poet. Early in 1639 the larger works were sent to the Stadtholder, with a bill of 1,000 florins each; but Frederick William demurred at this price, and the artist consented to take 600 florins apiece. He asked for immediate payment, but was obliged to await the leisure of others. Six letters which Rembrandt sent to Huygens concerning this group of paintings are still

preserved, and are very interesting as showing the character of the writer, his respectful independence, frankness and generosity, lack of pretentiousness, and his intimate relations with Huygens. They also prove, in their courteous and gentlemanly tone, that he was not an enriched peasant, as some have claimed, but a refined and polished correspondent, full of tact and sensibility.

The pictures from the life of Christ, which Rembrandt painted for the Stadtholder, are now in the Munich Pinakothek. They were carefully wrought out with prolonged labor and study, and were filled with alternating deep tones and transparent half-shadows. In his letters he recommended that they should be hung in a strong light, and at a distance from the eye. He said, "A picture is not made to be smelt of: the odor of the colors is unhealthy."

'The Death of the Virgin' was the subject of a noble etching made at this time, grandiose in its conception, and yet filled with beauty and tenderness. Contemporary etchings show 'The Presentation,' 'Youth Surprised by Death,' and the frequently-copied portrait of the master himself. Another represented the Receiver of the States of Holland, Uyttenboogaert, as a gold-weigher, sur-

rounded by bags of treasure. The gentleman was a personal friend of the artist's, and had made him large official payments.

At midsummer of 1640 Saskia gave birth to another child, which was also named Cornelia, and died, like its predecessor, within a few months. In the succeeding September, Rembrandt's mother died, at Leyden, having reached her seventieth year. She bequeathed to her four surviving children, Adriaen, Rembrandt, Willem, and Lysbeth, a considerable property, including seven houses, half a mill, and a garden. The family furniture and effects were divided by lot; and the painter received a bond for half of the mill, whence he might draw a small annual income. But with seeming improvidence he hastened to compound this revenue for a sum of ready money, being now, as always, in need of cash in hand, notwithstanding Saskia's fortune and his own large receipts.

The incessant activity of Rembrandt, as displayed in the three directions of portraiture, small cabinet-pictures, and larger historical compositions, was attended with a continual increase of power and depth of conception. In the three years from 1640 to 1643 he executed several incomparable

portraits, full of poetic spirit, grandiose conception, and individual impression. 'The Gilder' is one of the most brilliant and splendid of these works, and was painted in 1640. To illustrate the steady increase in the value of the master's works, this one may be specified as an example, since in 1802 it was sold for $1,000, and in 1865 for over $30,000. One of the most brilliant sketches of this period shows the ramparts of Amsterdam, depicted in lively and harmonious colors. Two portraits of Rembrandt himself date from 1640, with others of a philosopher, a young girl, and an aged dame, — the latter of which was purchased for the Narishkine Collection in 1868, for $11,000. Several designs were elaborated at the same time, and a large group of etchings.

'The Carpenter's Household' is a delightful little cabinet-picture, now in the Louvre, showing St. Joseph at work with his carpentering, in a warmly lighted Dutch apartment full of Ostade-like details, while Mary is near by, nursing the Child Jesus. She has none of the grandeur of the epic Madonnas of Italy, but is a beautiful representation of a tender mother, full of naturalness and homely charm. Another similar work is in the Cassel Gal-

lery. 'The Salutation,' in the Grosvenor Gallery, is a contemporary work of the same spirit, with the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth transpiring under a palace-portico, in the presence of other figures. The weird and mysterious 'Witch of Endor' bears about the same date.

The next year witnessed the production of the magnificent portraits of 'The Woman with the Fan' and her husband, the former of which now adorns Buckingham Palace, and the latter is at the Brussels Museum. They are both of life-size and half-length, and represent their comely and well-to-do subjects with rare strength, delicacy, and expression. Another portrait of this time showed Cornelis Claeszoon Anslo and a lady, seated at a book-laden table. The same gentleman, a Mennonite minister of Amsterdam, and possibly a kinsman of the master, was also represented in several sketches and an etching. Still more charming was the new life-sized portrait of Saskia, with her fair northern beauty, golden-haired and blue-eyed, illuminated by the blending lights of love and art. It is full of life and health, carefully finished, ravishing in its sweet expression, and filled with delicate amaranthine harmony. Four other portraits date from

this time, one of which represents the wife of the famous Jan Six, in life-size.

The favorite subject of 'Susanna at the Bath' was repeated again in 1641, in two paintings and their accompanying designs. Several other repetitions of this enticing theme are found in the European galleries. 'The Offering of Manoah,' at the Dresden Museum, shows the venerable Manoah and his wife prostrate before the altar, from which an angel is ascending. Another pleasing picture depicts a lowland landscape, in which Boaz and Ruth are made to appear, quite at home, because they are altogether Netherlanders. Of the score of designs attributed to this year, no less than thirteen represent lions in different attitudes, as if some rare leonine guest had been brought to Amsterdam, on one of her far-faring ships, and the artist seized the opportunity to improve the type of the conventional companion of St. Jerome and St. Mark. Another sketch preserves the appearance of the famous elephant, which created so much sensation in the city at this time. The sixteen contemporary etchings include three grand scenes of hunting lions, worthy, in their fire and fury, of Rubens or Leonardo da Vinci.

In September, Saskia gave birth to a child, which was baptized in the Zuyder Kerk soon after. It was named Titus in memory of Titia van Ulenburgh, who died during the same year.

Two exquisite portraits of ladies, now at Berlin and Cassel, date from 1642, a time to which the Munich catalogue refers also the portraits of Govaert Flinck and his wife (though Flinck was not married until some years later). These great works illustrate and confirm the ancient statement that the master often devoted many hours, and even days, to arranging the folds of a turban or the draping of a robe, producing a rare refinement of grace and richness. Five other portraits of ladies, and one of the master himself, date from this year, together with several designs and nine etchings. A small and neatly finished painting delineates the meeting of Jacob and Esau, who are embracing each other, in a high and mountainous landscape.

The portrait of Saskia, painted this year, has a tender and mournful interest, and contrasts in a marked manner with the bright and full-lived portrait of the previous year. She is richly robed and jewelled, as usual, but her face has a delicate and dreamy air, full of melancholy interest and the

serene beauty of an artistic transfiguration. The Dresden likeness of 1641 was as the rich and vivid noonday; its successor was the calm and contemplative sunset, when the night cometh on apace.

CHAPTER V.

'The Company of Frans Banning Cock,' or 'The Night Watch.' — Rembrandt's Home. — His Collections. — Death of Saskia. — The Conservative Reaction.

In 1642 the master finished his great and ever famous picture of "The Night Watch," or "The Sortie of the Company of Frans Banning Cock," which is now in the Amsterdam Museum. The scene is laid in front of a large public building, whence twenty-nine civic guardsmen and others are issuing, forming a triangular group whose base rests on the background, while its apex is in the extreme foreground, and contains the commanders of the company. The line running to the right is composed of pikemen, a sergeant, fusileer, and drummer; on the left are two young girls, a youth, and several rugged arquebusiers; and between these are other martial figures, with the great standard of the peaceful city. The names and ranks of the sixteen most prominent guardsmen are painted on the picture; and the portrait character of their faces is

fully apparent. The two foremost officers, the Seigneurs of Purmerland and Vlaardingen, are handsome men, and richly clad, — the first in a black velvet costume, with a red scarf, and the other in a suit of yellow satin. The soldiers are pouring out pell-mell, at the sound of the drum-taps, on their way to a target-shoot; and the grouping is full of picturesqueness and lively gesture. The coloring is simply amazing in its splendor, with rich golden tones, vapory chiaroscuro, and soft forcibleness, — skilful in its blending and contrasting shades and symphonic tints, admirable in its fantastic lights and delicate balancings. Nowhere is there a suspicion of dryness or hardness; nowhere is there a neglect of the true chromatic values. Nevertheless the picture does not appear to have pleased the obscure militia-captain whom it has endowed with immortal fame; for not long afterwards he had his own portrait and that of his wife painted by Van der Helst, and in 1660 he had one Gerrit Lundens make another picture of his company.

The present title of the picture, 'The Night Watch,' was given by Sir Joshua Reynolds, while within a century the French called it *La Ronde de Nuit.* The better name is 'The Company of

Frans Banning Cock,' a fact which becomes evident when it is seen that there is no "watch" in the picture, and that the scene is not at night. Blanc says: "To tell the truth, this is only a dream of night, and no one can decide what the light is that falls on the groups of figures. It is neither the light of the sun nor of the moon, nor does it come from torches: it is rather the light from the genius of Rembrandt." The picture remained in the armory of the company for about threescore years, and then for a century in the city-hall, whence it was transferred to its present resting-place in the Amsterdam Museum. Van Dyck restored and cleansed the whole work at one time; but time and the varnishers have darkened its tints to the semblance of night.

In departing from the usual manner of corporation-pictures, in which the portrayed functionaries were drawn up in rigid lines and under an equal light, Rembrandt insured for his new and noble work an abundance of life, animation, and movement, and therein consists the secret of its unfading fame. Instead of a series of burgher-portraits, he made a luminous and imaginative picture; instead of a cold chronicle, he gave us a dramatic chapter.

It has been said that Rembrandt could not design; but the masterly arrangement of these stiff citizen-soldiers is enough of itself to disprove such an assertion. Nothing could be more picturesque than the strange mixture of costumes and weapons therein, and the wide liberty of action among the members of this primitive national guard. They are of the frank and homely heroes of the people, who saved Holland from the terrible Spanish infantry by their simple and splendid valor. Montégut says of this picture: "It is liberty in her golden age. . . . It will preserve the memory of Dutch liberty, perhaps even beyond the existence of Holland."

The Broad Street of St. Anthony was at the eastern part of the city, in a suburb then recently annexed, and ran from the picturesque mediæval Gate of St. Anthony with its five round towers out towards one of the main canals. The Gate still stands, and marks the outgoing of the street in which Rembrandt lived at the time of his marriage.

In these latter years Rembrandt moved from his house in the Broad Street of St. Anthony to another on the quays of the River Amstel, where he was dwelling in 1639. Soon afterwards he occupied new quarters in the Broad Street of the Jews, a

continuation of St. Anthony's Broad Street, where he bought a spacious house of brick and cut stone, four stories high and four windows wide, built in 1606 in the prevalent Renaissance architecture. The house still stands; and by the aid of an existing legal inventory (dated 1656) we can even refurnish it as it was in the days of Rembrandt. Entering the vestibule we find the flagstone paving covered with fir-wood, with black-cushioned Spanish chairs for those who wait, and to amuse their leisure several busts and twenty-four paintings, — four each by Brouwer and Lievens, the rest mostly by Rembrandt. The antechamber, or saloon, was a large room, furnished with seven Spanish chairs upholstered in green velvet, a great walnut table covered with Tournay cloth, an ebony-framed mirror, and a marble wine-cooler. The walls were covered with thirty-nine pictures, many of which were in massive and elegant frames. There were religious scenes, landscapes, architectural sketches, — works of Pinas, Brouwer, Lucas van Leyden, and other Dutch masters; sixteen pictures by Rembrandt; and costly paintings by Palma Vecchio, Bassano, and Raphael. The next room was a perfect little museum of art, containing a profusion of

the master's pictures, with rare works of Van Leyden, Van Dyck, Aartgen, Parsellis, Seghers, and copies from Annibale Caracci. The oaken press and other furnishings indicated that the marvellous etchings of our artist were engraved and printed here. The next saloon was the gem of the establishment, and was equipped with a great mirror, an oaken table with an embroidered cloth, six chairs with blue coverings, a bed with blue hangings, a cedar-wood wardrobe, and a closet of the same wood. The walls even here showed the profound artistic taste of the occupant, for they were overlaid with twenty-three pictures by Aartgen, Lievens, Seghers, and other northern painters; the Concorde, Resurrection, and Ecce Homo of Rembrandt; a Madonna by Raphael; and Giorgione's great picture of 'The Samaritan.'

On the next floor the master had his studios and museum. The great art-chamber contained materials for weeks of study; the walls were covered with rich and costly *bric-à-brac* — statuettes in marble, porcelain, and plaster; the Roman emperors; busts of Homer, Aristotle, and Socrates; Chinese and Japanese porcelains and drawings; Venetian glass; casts from nature; curious weapons and

armor, with a shield attributed to Quentin Massys; minerals, plants, stuffed birds, and shells; rare fans, globes, and books. Another feature was a noble collection of designs, studies, and engravings, filling sixty leather portfolios, and including specimens of the best works of the chief Italian, German, and Dutch artists and engravers. In a small room adjacent were sixteen paintings by Rembrandt, Brouwer, Hals, Aartgen, and Seghers, with casts by Van Vianen, and four chairs with black leather seats. The greater studio enshrined a piece of Michael Angelo's sculpture, and was decorated with outlandish East-Indian arms and costumes. Its vestibule was adorned with lion-skins; and ten paintings were hung in an adjacent cabinet. The other studio was divided into five compartments, filled with antique arms, Indian, Batavian, and Turkish weapons, sixty pieces of Oriental armor, a collection of pipes, a cannon, Asiatic musical instruments, casts from nature, piles of drapery, and costumes of ancient and curious fabric and finish, and reproductions of antique statuary in plaster, including the Laocoön. The house was filled with the collections of a virtuoso, added to the varied paraphernalia of an historical painter's studio.

We have seen that the chief masters of European art were represented by their works in this wonderful home-museum, and were fervently admired and studied by their great compeer. And yet it has long been the fashion to decry Rembrandt as a whimsical original, careless of his predecessors in the world of art, if not even scorning their productions. The amassment of such collections as he possessed was the result of long-continued searching and lavish expenditure on all sides. The mere matter of price never stood between him and a desired art-treasure, for he was as liberal as his means allowed in such acquisitions. Hoogstraten tells of his paying eighty rix-dollars for a single engraving of Lucas van Leyden's; and Sandrart says that he once gave 1,400 florins for fourteen proofs from the same master. No wonder, then, that he was oftentimes pressed for money, and that he hastened to compound outstanding assets at a discount for ready cash. His location in one of the chief commercial cities of the world gave him excellent facilities for collecting rare and curious articles. The shipping in the port bore in all manner of strange objects, from the remotest East and the farthest West, — aboriginal trinkets and singular

natural productions from Java and the Philippines, ivory and precious goods from the Gold Coast of Africa, and barbaric weapons and robes from New Amsterdam and the red tribes of Hudson's River. Round about the master's house stretched the high-gabled houses of the Jewish quarter, with their quaint perrons and pent-houses, filled to overflowing with industrious and adventurous Hebrews, and rich in ancient *bric-à-brac* and far-fetched objects of *vertu*.

The life of Rembrandt's household in these days was of perfect simplicity, sober and regular, filled with labor and success, happiness and conjugal devotion. The domestic headquarters was the blue room, where the family gathered at evening, while the candle-light was shed dimly over the pictures and busts and heavy furniture, and was concentrated with a powerful Rembranesque effect on the principal personages. Saskia was usually at the great table, busy with her sewing, or caring for her infant; and Rembrandt sat by her, lightly sketching or touching up his etchings — while their friends engaged in lively conversation around them.

Among the frequent and friendly visitors at the house were the receiver Uyttenboogaert, the art-

merchants Abraham Francen and Clement de Jonghe, the Rabbi Manasseh Ben-Israel, the poet Jeremias de Decker, and the rich merchant Jan Pieterse Zomer, the first collector of the master's engravings. There was also a large circle of kinsfolk, the Sylviuses and Ulenburghs, the Copals and Van Loos; and the former pupils of the studio, who still kindly remembered and often visited the scene of their early labors.

Another group of young artists were busily engaged in Rembrandt's studio between 1640 and 1642, under the teaching and example of the great master. Among these were Jacob La Vecq of Dordrecht, who afterwards lived at the Hague and was Houbraken's teacher, having dropped the Rembranesque style and taken to portrait-painting, after his sojourn in France. Another was Juriaen Ovens, who in subsequent years departed from his master's manner, and became court-painter to the Duke of Holstein. Christoph Paudiss, the Saxon, was another pupil, who afterwards excelled in portraits and *genre* scenes. Verdoel became a painter of large historical pictures, and an author and poet. Hendrik Heerschop of Haarlem was in the studio somewhat later, and learned to excel

in richly costumed figures and portraits, showing careful and plodding study. He also acquired the art of etching, and executed several notable works of this kind. Drost was still another and a more eminent student, who afterwards lived and labored in Italy with a few of his compatriots. He was one of the noblest of Rembrandt's art-children, and preserved some of the high traditions of the studio in all their power and richness. Several brilliant pictures by this master are still retained in the European galleries, 'The Continence of Scipio' and the 'Herodias' being foremost among them. Carel Fabritius entered the studio in 1640, in his seventeenth year, and was one of its most manly and vigorous graduates. He was a citizen of Delft, where he was killed in the great magazine explosion of 1654, having previously won a wide fame for his accurate drawing, insomuch that the term "Fabritian perspectives" was synonymous with excellence in that department. Bernard Fabritius was another eminent painter in the manner of Rembrandt, and, if not a pupil, was at least an enthusiastic follower of the great Hollander.

Samuel van Hoogstraten was a fellow-disciple with Carel Fabritius, and entered the studio in

1640, being then fatherless, and in his fourteenth year. In many respects he was the most interesting of the pupils of this period, on account of his diversity of gifts and his breadth of character. He was a member of the Mennonite church, which at first admonished him for wearing a sword, and afterwards expelled him for alleged infractions of the rules and for marrying a woman outside of its community. He was very talented, and a profound student of the classics in literature and art, versed in abstruse theories of his profession, and skilful in writing tragedies and poems. "Poetry," he said, "is the sister of my goddess Pictura." In his famous book, "Introduction to the Higher School of Art," he gives glimpses of the inner life of Rembrandt's studio, and accounts of the pupils' discussions, — on what signs may lead one to see a good painter in a disciple, or what is the fundamental rule for a good ordering, or how one can perceive whether a history is well rendered by an artist. He says that once when he had wearied Rembrandt with theoretical questions, the master told him to work on up to the limit of his present knowledge, and that the things which he was prematurely reaching forward to, would come to him after-

wards. Poor Hoogstraten narrates also, that he was often deeply aggrieved during the lessons, and that he would then feed himself upon tears until he had found and corrected the faults which the master had reproved. Herein we may see that there were sternly enforced rules and principles in the studio, though certain adverse critics maintain that Rembrandt was "the incarnate enemy of all system."

In 1642 life assumed her richest charms in the presence of Rembrandt, who was rich, honored, and beloved, and in the new picture of Banning Cock's company had reached the empyrean of his fame. But that mysterious power which (or Who) regulates the law of compensations, causing certain bitterness to lurk in every rose-wreathed cup, had prepared for the great master a disciplining grief, in whose presence all these honors became of no account. The blow was at the heart. In June it happened that Saskia, who had been declining for some time, was warned by unmistakable signs that her end was approaching. She hastened to arrange the estate for the benefit of those dearest to her, and had a will drawn up by the notary Barcman. In this document the well-beloved lady showed

the implicit confidence which she reposed in her husband, and her lively solicitude for his future welfare. She made her infant son Titus the sole heir of the estate, with the condition that her husband should remain in usufructuary possession and administration thereof until his death or his second marriage, provided that he should properly educate the lad, and give him a sufficient marriage-portion in due time. If Titus should die, the entire estate should pass to Rembrandt unreservedly, save in case of a second marriage, when one-half thereof should be ceded to Hiskia van Ulenburgh. She expressly exempted her husband from giving an inventory of the property to any person, and from giving securities, "because she has confidence that he will act in this perfectly according to his conscience."

A few days later, and Saskia was dead, having attained only her thirtieth year. The grieving Rembrandt returned from her funeral at the Oude Kerk, to find the light gone out from his home forever. Henceforth he lived but to labor, earnestly and without repose, seeking to silence the memory of his sorrows by ceaseless pre-occupation. His manner of life was so simple, that he was fre-

quently content to take his frugal meals at his easel, while the long days passed in the ceaseless labor which produced such an enormous number of works. Some biographers have even stated that his regular diet was bread and cheese and herrings, but this is certainly an exaggeration. While thus engaged in his studio he enjoyed the conversation of friends, especially when it was of an earnest character.

After 1642 another cause of trouble arose in the track of the master. Several of the northern artists who had studied in Italy, and absorbed the genius of Southern art, returned to the shores of the German Ocean, and popularized the Italian style. The reaction against the Rembranesque manner rose like an angry sea; and the master stood like a rock in the midst of the storm, and answered it with sublime defiances. By intense and assiduous labor he strove to strengthen his style, and produce peerless masterpieces. Strange fantasies played through his works; mysterious and sombre inspirations shone or gloomed forth upon his canvases.

The pride and independence of Rembrandt's manner stood firmly at counter-purpose with the spirit of the times. His noble peculiarities had

been impressed on scores of pupils, and had moved and influenced many famous artists whom he had never seen, — Metsu, Cuyp, Van Everdingen, Ruysdael, Van Ostade, Wouverman, and others. But he had no Castiglione nor Aretino to translate his profound ideas into literature, no active princely patrons to insure him personal influence and power. Thus left alone before a hostile criticism, he did not yield to compromise, nor bend to conciliate, but answered only by fresh and more proudly characteristic works of art. The students returned from Italy, that holy land of art, with the ideas and the pictures of the orthodox schools of design; and the galleries of Holland were enriched with Italian compositions. Palladio and Scamozzi became the classic authorities for Dutch architecture; and the writings of the Italian poets and their older models were the models of the northern literati. Antique theories but half understood, and the barocco ideas of the decadence of southern art, were invoked against the genius of the greatest painter of the Netherlands. He remained firm, preserving the liberties of the Holland school, and exhibiting at once the boundless vigor and the fearless asperities of genius when assailed on all

sides. With sorrowing pride he went on painting compositions which horrified the critics of Amsterdam, while the popular taste was being rapidly alienated from him.

Vosmaer says, in his eloquent defence, "He was not against these ideas: he was above them. He, an enemy of the science of art and of its theory? We have seen what manner of discourses were held in his studio with the master himself: he possessed unexampled collections. He, exclusive? He consulted the art of all periods, whose best products he recognized and bought at foolishly high prices. He, against the Italians? He owned their pictures and engravings, and gave his finest etching for a leaf of Marc Antonio, while many of his works show how much he admired the Italians. He, an enemy of the antique? He possessed casts of Greek and Roman statuary, and engravings of Roman architecture; and he himself filled a book with sketches from the antique. He loved them as truly as their most fervent champions, but he had penetrated much farther into their sentiment."

CHAPTER VI.

Works between 1642 and 1654. — Jan Six. — The Peace of Westphalia. — Landscapes. — The Hundred-Florin Piece. — Etchings.

THE third great epoch of Rembrandt's life extended from 1642 to 1654, and was, in some respects, the golden period of his art-work. After Saskia's death, he ceased to be a man of family and of society; and we see in him only the artist, ceaselessly laboring, initiated into that sorrowful life whence the profoundest beauty arises like the fragrance from crushed flowers. His habitual seriousness had been deepened into a permanent dreamy melancholy; and the serene day of a painless life is no more reflected in his paintings. They shadow forth his spiritual ordeals, not by a sense of decadence, but by a grave and solemn profundity.

The chief picture of 1643 was the 'Bathsheba at the Bath,' showing the lovely lady, attended by her maids, and making a radical toilet. After a sojourn of a century in Paris and London, this fine work

has been returned to the Hague, where it is preserved in a private collection. Another brilliant work of 1643 was the 'Old Woman Weighing Pieces of Money,' now in the Dresden Museum, showing a wrinkled dame, sitting before a table, and testing gold coins in a balance. The subject recalls similar ideas in the more ancient schools of Quentin Massys and Lucas van Leyden.

The same year saw the usual group of remarkable portraits issue from the studio. The foremost of these was a full-length and life-size likeness of Madame Day, wife of that Martin Day, the Brazilian veteran, whom Rembrandt had portrayed several years before. The lady was undeniably homely; but the picture is one of the grandest and richest that can be imagined, full of delicate living lights, contrasting admirably with the black silk of the costume. This portrait and that of Martin Day were in the celebrated Van-Loon Collection, which was sold to the Rothschilds, late in 1877, for $800,000. Two other portraits, of life-size and three-quarters length, show a Dutch admiral (or gentleman) and his patrician wife. Two others, now in the Grosvenor Gallery, brilliantly reproduce a young seignior, evidently a jolly huntsman, with

his charming blonde wife. Again, he portrays the venerable and learned historian, Dr. Heynsius, in the simple black costume of a scholar; Cornelia, mother of the artist, in two deep-toned pictures; Rembrandt himself, twice repeated; and several others. Such industry in the field of portrait-painting restricted his time for other work, so that the master made but five etchings during the year. One of these, however, was the favorite 'Landscape with Three Trees,' the finest and most grandiose of the master's engraved landscapes.

The only composition executed in 1644 was the famous picture of 'The Woman Taken in Adultery,' which has since brought $30,000 at public sale, and is now in the British National Gallery. The admirable arrangement of this work shows the unfortunate woman on her knees, weeping and humiliated, surrounded by an insolent and curious crowd, and denounced by a pitiless Pharisee. The barefooted and simply clad figure, standing protectingly above her, is Christ, attended by one of His apostles. The scene transpires in a vast colonnaded temple, and is overflowed by rich and mysterious light. This picture was sacredly kept in a locked cabinet in the house of the Burgomaster Six,

until the Revolution, when it was taken to London, and sold to Mr. Angerstein for $25,000. Dr. Waagen calls it the best of Rembrandt's cabinet-pictures; and Hazlitt characterizes it as "prodigious in coloring, in light and shade, in pencilling, in solemn effect." Two other representations of this dramatic scene are now owned by British nobles.

The portraits of this time included a noble life-sized picture of the pensive and studious minister Sylvius, who died some years before. His face is angular and severe, with a forked beard; and the *Institutiones Calvini* is on the table before him. The pendant of this picture represents an aged dame, probably the minister's wife, seated in an arm-chair of red morocco. Several other portraits are referred to this date, and one etching.

The next year saw the production of several small compositions, — 'The Tribute Money,' two Holy Families, and 'A Young Man Studying,' the latter of which is a beautiful little *genre*-painting. Queen Victoria owns a superb portrait-group of this time, showing the Burgomaster Pancras giving a collar of pearls to his wife; and similar contemporary works portray Eleazar Swalmius, a preacher of Amsterdam; a venerable white-bearded Rabbi,

splendidly painted; and two young ladies. Among the eight etchings of the year are several quaint and pretty Dutch landscapes, a Repose in Egypt, and a portrait of Sylvius.

'Abraham Receiving the Three Angels' is a little gem of a picture, executed in 1646, and now in a British private gallery. The scene of 'The Adoration of the Shepherds' was twice repeated at this period, and both pictures are now preserved, at Munich and in the British National Gallery. One of them was made for the Stadtholder, and was accompanied by a picture of 'The Circumcision.' The Prince paid the great sum of 2,400 florins for these two works. Several of the etchings of this period represent scenes which are unfortunately not even equivocal, and the delineation of which would justly be considered scandalous to-day.

In 1647 Rembrandt painted life-sized portraits of Claes Berchem and his wife, which are now in the Grosvenor Gallery. Berchem was a brother-artist and *bric-à-brac* hunter, who had studied in Italy, and afterwards lived at Haarlem. Other portraits of this year showed Ephraim Bonus, "the little doctor" (with an etching of the same subject); the widow of the Remonstrant minister of

Gouda; Councillor Nagel, of Nymegen; and Rembrandt himself. Among the contemporary etchings were portraits of Jan Six; of Asselyn, the artist, an adherent of Claude at Rome; and of Dr. van der Linden.

In 1647 Rembrandt etched an admirable portrait of Jan Six, in the cabinet of an amateur and collector, surrounded by rare old books and weapons. A year later, Six published his tragedy of "Medea," and his artist-friend furnished it with an engraving of the nuptials of Jason and Creusa.

The intimacy between Jan Six and Rembrandt was of a memorable character. Six was a young gentleman of one of the patrician families of Amsterdam, and rose from one office to another until he became burgomaster of the city (in 1691). He was an enthusiastic student and poet, and wrote the long poems of "Muiderberg" and "Medea," besides many shorter odes and sonnets, and was on intimate relations with Vondel and other minstrels of his time. His friendship with Rembrandt began probably in 1641, when the artist was painting the portrait of Madame Six, Jan's mother, and was speedily deepened by the similar tastes of the two men. Six had already lavished great sums in the

acquisition of curiosities and works of art, rare books and classic marbles. He owned pictures by Titian, Sebastiano, Palma, Giorgione, Holbein, Van Dyck, Poussin, and the ancient and modern Dutch masters, with several works by his friends Lievens, Flinck, and Rembrandt. In 1647 the master etched 'The Bridge of Six,' near his comrade's country-seat of Elsbrock; and a legend states that he finished the whole work while the servant was hunting up the mustard for the dinner. Six made frequent attempts to introduce his artist friend into the circles of patrician life; but the sturdy old painter refused to be drawn out in this way, and declined all invitations. His was not the spirit to waste or lower itself in trivial adulation of empty-headed and full-pursed Dutch aristocrats, and he preferred to remain altogether aloof from high life. Still it is not true, as many say, that he sought low company, as more congenial to him on account of his birth and proclivities. He was not low-born, nor were his associates in after-life of mean estate.

No painter has left so many portraits of himself as this one did, — rare and curious autobiographical signs, infinitely varied, idealized above or below, rarely mere physiognomic studies, but illustrating

various phases of his character, now joyful and smiling, now self-conscious and audacious, now proud and lordly. At one time his massive head is depicted with mane-like hair and beard, broad and firm-set mouth, and glaring eyes, like the head of a lion. Again the features are refined and delicate, though large, with an air of elegant disdain, and bright, piercing eyes, as if he was some great and haughty lord. Yet again, and in his younger days, he appears as a warrior, bearing a banner or a flashing sword, with the battle-light gleaming in his eyes. His costumes were of every variety, from the treasures of his museum — knightly armor, quaint and gorgeous robes and caps, precious jewels and chains of gold.

From 1643 to 1648 Rembrandt executed no portrait of himself. The joyful life had passed away when Saskia's body had been laid in the vaults of the Oude Kerk, and henceforth he ceased to delight in seeing himself robed in rich costumes and embroidered robes. In 1648 he portrayed himself in the simplicity of an ordinary citizen, unadorned, with short hair and thin moustache, holding no more a sword, but only his crayon and drawing-sheet, yet looking straight out of the picture with

an intense and piercing regard which showed that although the man had been wounded, the artist still stood erect and strong.

'The Good Samaritan' and 'The Pilgrims of Emmaus,' now in the Louvre, were executed in 1648, together with a repetition of the latter, a portrait of the artist, and twelve etchings. This was the year of the famous Peace of Westphalia, when the long battle between the United Provinces and Spain was honorably ended. Amsterdam and other Dutch cities celebrated "The Year of Peace" with great festivities and public rejoicings; Vondel commemorated it in verse, Lutma in medals, and Flinck, Terburg, and Van der Helst in pictures. Rembrandt himself illustrated the general joy in the great allegorical painting of 'The Peace of the Land,' which remained in his studio until 1656. Afterwards it passed successively into the collections of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, and Samuel Rogers; and is now in the Boyman's Museum at Rotterdam.

In 1649 the great Turenne visited Holland, and Rembrandt improved the opportunity to execute a life-sized equestrian portrait of him. During this period, before 1650, the master devoted himself

more to landscape-painting, and delineated several hill-country districts, as well as designs and etchings of similar purport.

After 1653 the master devoted but little attention to landscapes, and his studies in out-door life hardly began before 1640, so that his career in this department was of comparatively short duration. Still it sufficed to mark him as truly a leader therein. Several fine examples of his sympathetic interpretation of Nature are preserved in the British and Continental galleries, showing vivid sunsets, rolling hills, the banks of dreamy rivers, and cloudy skies arching over broad and populous plains. Again, he portrays some sweet and peaceful hamlet among the polders, surrounded by verdant groves and silvery water-ways, therein translating Nature into true yet ideal language, and investing it with the poetry of color.

No country offers so few charms to a landscape-painter as Holland, with its unbroken levels of cultivated plains or moors, devoid of lakes or hills, cascades or passes, and even lacking in the glorious sky of the more southern countries. Yet the Dutch painters have always loved Nature, and delighted in portraying her most monotonous moods. To the

names of Cuyp, Ruysdael, and Koninck, let us add that of Rembrandt, who joined their number only after many years of his career had passed. He possessed many engravings of Swiss, High German, and Italian scenery, and several of the masterly landscapes of Hercules Seghers. The love of natural scenery, even in the drowned lands, slowly took possession of him, and he passed out from his usual sketching rambles along the city-fortifications and avenues, and took long excursions in the country and among the suburban hamlets. Here he sketched the quaint and interesting objects which he met on all sides, — the rural spires overtopping thick groves; the canal-boats slowly swashing down the long water-lanes; the sand-hills and the ponderous dykes along the sea-front; and the ruined farms and churches which Spain had left among the Batavian marshes. The district of Gooiland, stretching eastward along the Zuyder Zee and southward toward Utrecht, was his favorite region, with its three fair cities of Muiden, Naarden, and Weesp, and the country-seats of many rich and cultured families of Amsterdam. Here dwelt Uyttenboogaert, Tromp, Six, Hooft, and the Hinloopens; and the artist's nephew Sylvius was pastor of Muiderberg, near the

manor-house of Muiden, so celebrated for its literary assemblies.

The travels of Rembrandt were of narrow scope. His sketches show that he had visited Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Nymegen, and Cleves; and his hill-country scenes were probably composed among the abrupt wooded ranges about the last-named town. There is a wide variety in his sketches. Some are merely hasty outlines, and others bear evidence of long and careful elaboration.

The group of students under Rembrandt's instruction between 1650 and 1654 included several who were afterwards prominent. Nicolaes Maes of Dordrecht was one of the ablest and most original of these, and became eminent in *genre* and portrait painting. Heiman Dullaert of Rotterdam, the poet and musician, was another member of this group, and afterwards attained eminence as a painter of portraits and interiors, settling at Rotterdam, whence he corresponded with his old master. Other pupils were Gerard Ulenburgh, the landscape-painter and picture-dealer; Franz Wulfhagen, of Bremen; Johann Ulrich Mayr, of Augsburg; and Michiel Willemans, a German artist.

The great composition of 'Jesus Blessing the

Little Children,' was painted about the year 1650, and is full of rich effects; the Saviour's head being especially notable for its rare expression of melancholy tenderness. This picture was purchased for the British National Gallery, a few years since, at the price of $35,000. About this time also, he made portraits of Clement de Jonghe, the Calverstraat picture-dealer; Van Tromp, the doughty old admiral who had swept the North Sea with his victorious fleets; and other persons, whose names have not been saved from oblivion, though their features are perpetuated to our days.

Fifty-seven etchings attest the iron diligence of the master between 1649 and 1655. Among these were several views of the region about the country-seat of the receiver Uyttenboogaert, near Naarden and the moors of Gooiland, indicating that the artist still preserved his intimacy with that gentleman, and found familiar scenes about his home. The mellifluous name of Uyttenboogaert was woven into the eulogistic verses of Huygens; and the Latin muse of Barlaeus had striven to celebrate it in the language of Virgil. One of the best etchings of this period was 'The Landscape with a Tower,' showing the pretty hamlet of Loenen, in Gooiland; and others illustrate charming landscape effects.

The celebrated 'Piece of a Hundred Florins,' or 'Jesus Healing the Sick,' is Rembrandt's masterpiece in etching, as 'The Company of Frans Banning Cock' is in painting. It marks his advent into a new and more stable manner of design, after the manifold experimental works of previous years, and combines the noblest traits of his most famous works. The calm and serene figure of the great Healer is surrounded by groups of maimed and sick persons, with plump and incredulous Pharisees closely observing the passing events. The first proofs of this engraving command enormous and increasing prices, there being but eight in existence, five of which are in Great Britain. In 1847 one of these was sold in London for $600; and the same copy brought $5,000 at a public sale in 1867.

In the six years after 1649, Rembrandt executed sixteen sketches, including several in Six's album; a St. Sebastian, after Leonardo; and a representation of the mournful scene in Gethsemane.

'Bathsheba' was the chief picture of 1654, and portrayed a Titianesque naked woman sitting in a rich golden light, and reading King David's letter. 'The Bather' was of the same date, and presents a lady clad in a chemise, with her feet in the water.

This composition is now in the British National Gallery, by Holwell Carr's bequest. Waagen compares it to a Correggio; and Landseer says that "It is the most artful thing ever done in painting, and the most unsophisticated."

The finest work of Rembrandt which the Louvre now possesses is a portrait of a lady, in rich amber lights, carefully finished, and yielding in nothing to the Titian that hangs beside it. Several other famous portraits date from this year, and also twelve etchings of religious scenes; with a pleasant likeness of the master's son Titus, then twelve years old.

CHAPTER VII.

Domestic Troubles. — Bankruptcy. — The Sale of the Collections. — New Home on the Rose-Canal. — 'The Syndics.' — Titus. — The Death of Rembrandt.

With all Rembrandt's faithful labor, his pecuniary affairs seem to have gone on steadily from bad to worse. In 1653 he borrowed large sums, nearly $1,000 each, from Cornelis Witsen and Isaac van Hertsbeeck; and, in the following year, his house in the Breedstraat was heavily mortgaged. Renewed troubles befell the master during the next three years, from importunate creditors and unsympathetic legal officers.

In the summer of 1654 Hendrickie Jaghers, a maid-servant in Rembrandt's house, was summoned before the consistory of the Reformed Church, to answer to charges of improper relations between herself and her master. She acknowledged the truth of the accusation, and was reprimanded and forbidden to partake of the Holy Communion. Kramm, in his "Vie des Peintres,"

bases on this single event a statement that the life of the master was luxurious and dissipated from the time when Saskia died; but Vosmaer repels this general charge, and demands why none of the contemporary Amsterdam authors, gossippy as they were, had alluded to Rembrandt's decadence in morals.

In this case, also, the master seems to have done all in his power to remedy the wrong which he had inflicted; for in October the infant of Rembrandt van Ryn and Hendrickie was publicly baptized, receiving the name of Cornelia in memory of her paternal grandmother. He recognized the child as his own; but it is not certainly known whether he married Hendrickie or not. It has been thought that his cession of his estate to Titus was a preliminary to an approaching marriage, in view of the clause of Saskia's will which made the property revert to her son in case of his father's second nuptials. But Titus's exigent relatives, while claiming the estate on other grounds, never alluded to its reversion in this way, whence it is evident that the artist was not re-married, at least before their last suit, in 1665. Perhaps Hendrickie died before the wedding, and thus the preliminary trans-

fer was not followed by further cessions; or Rembrandt may have deeded the property to his son, as a last resort, to save it from the approaching financial disaster.

After Rembrandt's death a certain Catharina van Wyck is registered in the Dead-book of the West Church as his widow, appearing before the proper authorities to depose about the heritage of their children. Nothing further is known of this lady, or whence she came, or when he married her.

Amidst the domestic and financial misfortunes which were now befalling him on every side, the spirit of the artist did not blench, nor his pencil lose its power. With a sublime buoyancy he rose above the waves of disaster which rolled so angrily about his house, and nerved himself to higher and nobler efforts. During the tumults of 1655 he found time and heart to produce the 'Ecce Homo,' three life-sized portraits of standard-bearers and civic guards, and a highly finished picture of the interior of a stable, with twelve etchings. Four of the latter represented Jacob's ladder, David and Goliath, the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, and the vision of Ezekiel, and were used in illustrating Manasseh Ben-Israel's curious

book, *La Piedra Gloriosa.* Two other noble etchings of this year were 'Jesus Shown to the People,' and 'The Three Crosses,' the latter of which portrays the scene at Calvary, — the crosses bathed in celestial light, and groups of soldiers, Jews, and disciples in the deep shadows below.

In this year Jan Six married Marguerite, the daughter of Dr. Tulp; and he was soon afterwards named commissary of marriages, a position of much importance in the cities of Holland. At this time Rembrandt executed a noble portrait of the new functionary, which the tuneful Vondel apostrophized in verse. The present head of the Six family now owns this and other fine works of his ancestor's friend.

By 1656 Rembrandt's estate was irremediably embarrassed; and he transferred the house and land to his son Titus, reserving for himself the present administration during the pleasure of Saskia's family. A few weeks later, he was declared insolvent; and an inventory of his possessions was made by the officers of the law. How did the improvident artist rush into such a disaster? He had 40,000 florins from his wife alone, and earned great sums steadily from his pictures and pupils. He

evidently had believed that the fortune was inexhaustible, and spent money without stint on all manner of objects of art and curiosity. His generosity was equal to his improvidence, and was manifested on all sides.

The Van Ryn family at Leyden was undeniably poor in these later years. Adriaen had sold half of the mill; the widow afterwards leased the remainder; in 1652 another brother was publicly reported as "notoriously poor;" and his sister Lysbeth was rated as "half insolvent." These kinspeople were sadly necessitous; and they probably drew heavily on their prosperous and generous brother. Furthermore it is recorded that, within a few years of Saskia's death, he was compelled by certain of her relatives to make an inventory of his goods, which were then valued at over 40,000 francs. They demanded that Titus's half of the estate should be settled on him, and that he should receive a mortgage on the remainder. The constant suits of these imprudent persons greatly annoyed the master, and hampered his business for some years.

The home-troubles of 1656 did not prevent the completion of several noble works of art, foremost

among which was another picture like 'The School of Anatomy,' showing Dr. Deyman and eight other prominent physicians of Amsterdam. This composition was described by Sir Joshua Reynolds as possessing traits suggestive of Michael Angelo and Titian. It was injured by fire in 1723, and has since disappeared. Another great work, now at Cassel, represents the scene in which the aged patriarch Jacob blesses the sons of Joseph, in a rich and beautiful composition of classic correctness and unfailing interest. The light is of that mysterious tint which marked the transition from the golden hues of the earlier works to the warm and vigorous harmonies of the succeeding manner. 'The Preaching of St. John the Baptist,' now in England, is another large and brilliant work, containing a hundred or more figures, grandly composed, and displayed in a picturesque mountain landscape. This is one of the noblest masterpieces of the great Hollander, and is full of realistic groups, powerful and expressive faces, and harmonious and tranquil lights and shades. The large composition of 'The Lord of the Vineyard,' and a cabinet-picture of the head of Christ, were also executed this year, together with several etchings and portraits.

The engraved portraits of 1655–56 included several of masterly ability, — the elder Hareng, inimitable in its delicate shading; and Hareng the younger, of which Charles Blanc says, "How far does the power of genius reach! Behold a simple doorkeeper; and, from the moment when he poses before Rembrandt, what a ray of poetry lightens up his narrow dwelling! He is transfigured under the eye of the painter." Another portrayed Abraham Francen, the picture-dealer, a friend and bondsman of the distressed artist and his son, showing him surrounded with objects of art and *vertu*. Another fine picture represents Johannes Lutma, the venerable sculptor, who had studied at Rome, and afterwards became a friend of Rembrandt and a fellow-amateur. Still another brilliant etching portrayed Dr. Tholinx, a famous physician of the city.

The foremost picture of 1657 was 'The Adoration of the Magi,' which is now in Buckingham Palace. It attained a wide celebrity, even during the lifetime of the artist, and is now of great pecuniary value. The grouping displays admirable skill; and the costumes of the three holy kings are full of rich and curious details. The general tone of the picture is deep, ripe, and golden. An-

other large painting of this date shows 'Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife.' Three of the seven portraits of 1657 were likenesses of Rembrandt, no more the gay chevalier of his younger time, richly and often fantastically clad, but now a fast aging man, with full features, a shaven beard, a scant moustache, and graying hair.

At the close of the year 1657, the household-goods and most of the rich collections of the master were removed by the legal officers to the Imperial-Crown Hotel, in the Kalver Street, where they were sold at auction, to satisfy the demands of the creditors. During the next year, his engravings and designs were disposed of in the same way. Thus, in a few hours, were dispersed the superb collections of art and *bric-à-brac* which Rembrandt had devoted his lifetime and sacrificed an ample fortune to gather together. How the proud artist's heart must have writhed under this affliction, as he saw his precious antiques and curiosities passing under the hammer of the auctioneer! It is intimated that he was living at that time in the Imperial-Crown Hotel, with his son Titus, homeless and poor, after all his prodigious labors.

These matchless collections of curiosities and

pictures brought only about $1,000, — a mere fraction of their value, even at that time. Now they would bring at least half a million. Amsterdam was then under the cold clouds of hard times and a general commercial prostration; hundreds of houses were unoccupied, and rents were greatly diminished; laws were enacted against luxurious living; and public works were stopped half-way.

Where were Rembrandt's powerful patrons in these dark days? They preferred to let the law take its course, like the hard-headed and practical Dutchmen that they were, and to relieve their friend when he had passed through the courts. In the subsequent months they are often seen in close relations with him, slowly helping him onward.

The magnificent pictures entitled 'The Jewish Bride,' and 'Rembrandt and his Family,' were executed about this time. The former represents a rosy and smiling lady (not a Jewess), richly robed and profusely jewelled, with a man about fifty years old, who is adorning her neck with a chain. The second picture shows the same persons, with three children, the gentleman being in the shadow, and the others forming a luminous mass of brilliancy. No answer returns to the question as to whom these

portraits represent; and the title of the second one, if not a misnomer, opens a wide field for wondering conjecture. "The Jewish Bride" is in the Van der Hoop Museum at Amsterdam; and the other is in the Brunswick Museum.

Early in 1658 Rembrandt's house was sold, on the demand of Henricus Torquinius, the trustee in bankruptcy, and brought 11,218 francs. The master was allowed to remove two stoves and certain screens or partitions, — poor remnants of his former noble fortune.

After the house had been sold over his head, Rembrandt hired a new domicile on the Rosengracht, or Rose-Canal, at the further end of the city, and near the West Church. It was opposite the celebrated Doolhof, or Labyrinth, a pleasure-house and garden which had recently been established by a skilful manager from Frankfort. There were many of these public gardens in Amsterdam, frequented by all sorts of doubtful characters; but this was the most splendid of all, and was honestly and decorously conducted. Here the people were amused with theatrical plays, music, and refreshments; while the labyrinthine gardens were decorated with flower-beds, shrubberies, grottos, foun-

tains, scores of statues, and mechanically moving groups illustrating scenes from the Bible and the classic mythology. The fountains were adorned with symbolic representations of the four quarters of the globe, the four seasons, the four elements, the four virtues, and the four vices; and elsewhere were Bacchus and his satyrs, Cupid in a chariot drawn by tigers, Theseus fighting the Centaur, St. John preaching to the Jews, the palace of Solomon, Herodias's daughter dancing, the martyrdom of the Apostles, the tyrant Duke of Alva, Esther and Ahasuerus, St. Bartholomew, and a cock which crowed every hour. In this curious assemblage of scenes from the Augustan and the Christian civilizations, we may see a reflex of the spirit of the age, in which its great works of art and literature were executed. How often must our artist have whiled away his sad hours, so full of disappointment and chagrin, amid these *bizarre* collections!

The Rosengracht quarter was a retired and respectable part of the city, inhabited chiefly by citizens of modest means. Rembrandt seems to have preferred to live in such sequestered streets, even during his affluence, avoiding the bustle and confusion of the commercial districts. His new home

was near the triangular bastions of the city wall, with their encircling boulevards and wide protecting canals, their tall and picturesque windmills, and gates opening toward the fields, where he could gratify his passion for sketching-rambles among the hamlets and farms. The Bloemgracht, where he resided before his marriage with Saskia, was only two blocks from the Rosengracht, so that the scenes of the early triumphs and of the old-age struggles were close together.

Rembrandt's house on the Rose-Canal is yet standing, and bears a shield with the date of 1652. It is a pleasant and commodious domicile, still adorned inside with the remains of the extensive Carrara-marble decorations and floorings which were placed in it when first built. The financial distress of our artist did not then force him into a squalid retreat, but his unceasing energy enabled him to make a congenial and comfortable new home.

It does not appear that the old veteran was left to sink into an evening life of misanthropy and gloomy meditations, for the city was filled with his friends and admirers. His former pupils, Bol, Flinck, Eeckhout, Koninck, and others, remained near him, and were now wealthy and respected. A group of

younger artists also gave him their hearts in ardent admiration and respect. Coppenol, the Lutmas, De Decker, Heyblocq, the picture-dealer Francen, Zomer, all these remained on friendly terms with the master. In the new home the artist thus dwelt in tranquillity, probably with his family about him, and young children charming the long hours of his declining years.

The next year witnessed the production of three portraits, including the remarkable one now in the Louvre; the composition of the 'Ecce Homo,' in the Darmstadt Museum; and six fine etchings, — 'The Samaritan Woman at the Well,' 'The Presentation in the Temple,' and four studies of women at the bath, etc. The latter are all from one model, whom Blanc supposes to have been the master's second wife.

The chief works of 1659 are now both at the Berlin Museum, and represent 'Moses Descending from Sinai, and Breaking the Tables of the Law' and 'Jacob Wrestling with the Angels,' very large canvases imbued with sombre and mysterious depths of coloring. Three brilliant portraits of Rembrandt himself were executed this year, with a simple and serious expression, but showing a fearless and vigor-

ous face. Three etchings finish the list of 1659, and include a brilliant and velvety composition of 'Jupiter and Antiope,' and also a landscape, a rare feature in these late years.

The works of 1660 were all of a portrait character, and included a 'St. Francis,' a 'Philosopher in Meditation,' and an aged woman, supposed to have been the artist's grandmother. Three new portraits of Rembrandt also appeared at this time, showing him, not as a seignior, nor yet as a military hero, but in the guise and attitude of a painter, busy before his canvas.

'The Syndics of the Guild of Clothmakers,' now in the Amsterdam Museum, was executed in 1661, and was the noblest work of the master's later years. The subject is uninteresting, but the picture itself is a consummate flower of art. The five syndics are portrayed as seated in their oaken-wainscoted apartment, and are all of life-size, and dressed in black suits, with large black hats and broad collars. The noble heads of these doughty old magistrates are full of life and character, and their eyes look out at the spectator. The coloring is simple and natural, the prevalent hues are dark, and there are no strong lights; yet the general effect is so vivid

and realistic that the portraits hanging near it in the Museum appear cold and lifeless in comparison.

Other works of this year were the life-sized and half-length figure of St. Matthew, now in the Louvre; the 'Ecce Homo' and 'The Circumcision,' now in England; and several portraits. The etchings included the magnificent 'Woman with an Arrow,' showing a nude woman seated on a bed, and seen from the back; and the portrait of the white-haired Lieven Coppenol, holding pen and paper, and looking towards the spectator. It seems that through all the many years of trouble and hard work, the master had kept up friendly relations with the companion of his early manhood, whom he now portrayed in the white winter of age. This picture is also remarkable as the last etching which Rembrandt executed, and the end of a long series of grand and marvellous works.

The closest research has failed to find any trace of the activity of the master during the years 1662 and 1663. Neither painting nor etching can be attributed to those dates, and the life of the artist seems to have been a blank throughout the entire period. The intense vigor of the earlier days appears to have failed suddenly, and fallen into a

paralysis. After painting barely two pictures in 1664, — a 'Suicide of Lucretia' and a portrait of an officer, — the master allowed another year, 1665, to pass without using his brush.

In 1665 Titus demanded his majority of the magistrates, being then twenty-four years old. He called himself a born citizen of Amsterdam, and complained that his retention in the state of a minor prevented the proper management of his affairs. His father also signed the request, and it was favorably indorsed by Francen and two other merchants. The authorities acceded to the petition; and Titus was left free to pursue his vocation, which seems to have been of a mercantile character. He had originally been instructed in art by his father, and several of his drawings were specified in the inventory of 1656.

In November, 1665, Rembrandt's bankrupt estate was finally adjusted, and his son Titus received 6,952 francs as the remnant of the property. After ten years of long and painful processes these trying affairs were at last settled. The creditors were paid in full, Titus received a fraction of the estate, and Rembrandt was left to begin life over again at the age of fifty-eight years.

Even during his declining years Rembrandt instructed two pupils, and filled them with his victorious ideas. One of these was Godfrey Kneller, who entered the studio in 1668, and was taught afterwards by Bol. The other was Arnout de Gelder of Dordrecht, who remained from 1665 to 1668, and gave himself up entirely to the powerful influence of the master, showing the reflected light of that inspiration in his coloring, effects, and execution, and even in adopting his favorite Biblical themes for illustration. De Gelder was also infected with the perilous antiquarian tastes of his teacher, and collected all manner of quaint and curious objects.

Slowly the energy and ambition of the master seem to have returned to him; for in the year 1666 he executed no less than four paintings, — an 'Ecce Homo,' another 'Suicide of Lucretia,' and two portraits. The silence of the critics, even those most eulogistic of his earlier works, leaves us to infer that these sunset paintings showed evidences of decadence.

The only composition of the next year was 'Joseph Going forth to Meet his Father,' in which the venerable Jacob is seen kneeling, while his dis-

tinguished son approaches with groups of warriors, pages, and richly-dressed ladies. Five portraits bear the date of 1667, the most notable of which represented the celebrated naturalist Johannes Swammerdam, surrounded by appropriate objects. Another likeness shows the venerable artist himself, with a wrinkled and furrowed face, whose flesh appears soft and drooping. He is still bravely arrayed in a furry robe and a velvet cap, with a chain on his breast.

In 1668 Titus van Ryn was twenty-seven years old, and had so far prospered in life that he married his cousin Magdalena van Loo, of one of the Frisian families which were connected with the Ulenburghs. The young couple went to live in a house bearing the emblem of the golden balance, opposite the apple-market, and fronting on the Singel, one of the great quays on the east side of the city. But only a few months had passed away when Titus died. In the next March his widow had a female infant, and Rembrandt was present at the baptism, when it was named Titia. A few weeks later, the mother died also.

Early in October Rembrandt was taken sick; and on the eighth day of the month the hearty and

robust old man, only sixty-two years old, passed away. His funeral was of the simplest character, and he was interred in the West Church. The registered expense of the burial shows that it cost only fifteen florins. How different from the imposing magnificence of Rubens's funeral, when great processions followed the artist's remains to his superb sepulchral chapel!

CHAPTER VIII.

Rembrandt's Individuality. — The New Art. — Realistic Religious Painting. — Criticisms of Contemporaries. — Personal Traits.

REMBRANDT OF THE RHINE is at the head of the Dutch school of painting, and was the true product and exponent of his time and country. His original and poetic nature showed itself in the personal and subjective side of his works, in rare and picturesque effects attained by astonishing lights, unusual arrangements, and the employment of quaint and striking costumes and physiognomies. In his riper years, much of this experimental versatility was laid aside, and his paintings are objective and humanistic, with such traits of universality that they appeal as surely to the latest ages as to his own. He advanced from the study and elaboration of details and accessories to a profound concentration in great masses, and an amplitude of range which included all manner of subjects, from children to dotards, from beggars to princes. His perfect command over the entire range of human

experience gives him the right to be called the painter of the life of men and of nature. These things he studied profoundly, and acquired the ability to thoroughly know the details, and yet to subordinate them to the general effect. Herein he made the rare combination of realism and idealism, the imaginative transfiguration of the fruits of positive study. Yet the materials with which he formed his groupings were not the brilliant costumes and clear-cut faces of Romans and Venetians, but the massive and phlegmatic Hollanders, dull themes for poetry or poetic limning. Quinet wonders that his magic coloring could have been executed under "the leaden sky" of the Low Countries; and Vosmaer answers with a proud defence of his native land.

Modern art was slowly emancipating itself from the former functions of preparing religious and mythological hieroglyphics, and was becoming purely pictorial in its scope, and closely allied with the general illustration of nature and life. The studio was no longer to be an appanage of the church or the extinct pagan civilizations, but a possession of the people, the city, the farm. So the great Holland master displayed his sturdy and

sometimes gloomy republicanism in his hearty attachment to the human manifestation of his art. He represented the sacred personages of Scripture from an intelligible point of view, and passed by the symbolical and the allegorical unheeded. Perhaps this practical interpretation was carried too far, as was natural for the plain folk by the North Sea. Quinet says that Rembrandt's Bible is the Bible of the iconoclasts, his apostles are mendicants, and his Christ is the Christ of the ragamuffins. But the apostles were indeed men of low estate, poor handworkers, living by labor and alms; and not foppish old philosophers and *savants*, posed in Roman drapery, as the Italian artists portrayed them. It was happily reserved for the English Pre-Raphaelites of to-day to steer between the Scylla and Charybdis of classic senators and indigent Dutch boors, and represent the personages of sacred story as humble but inspired Syrian pilgrims, with Hebrew faces and costumes.

As the great head of the rising Protestant art, Rembrandt studied the Scriptures in the light of modern thought, carefully, and without regard to the quaint mystical traditions of Italy. Athanase Coquerel has given us an interesting chapter on

the Biblical researches of the great Hollander, as exemplified in his works. M. de Ronchaud writes, with eloquence and truth, "It may be said of Rembrandt, that he has renewed the Christian legend by removing from the sacred subjects all external poesy foreign to the spirit of the gospel. The personages of the Biblical scenes, animated by him with sentiments profoundly human, regain in significance, moral and Christian (in the large sense of the word), what they lose in nobility and splendor. The vulgarity of the types may even seem a return to the true Christian sentiment. The Christ of Rembrandt, is he not the *Christus inglorius, ignobilis, inhonorabilis*, of Tertullian? Here the semi-pagan ideal of the Italian Renaissance yields to another ideal more truly Christian, in that it is more universal and more human, the expressive ideal which issues from the depths of the soul."

Rembrandt has been called "The Painter of Beggars," and in this department he rivalled his great contemporary Murillo. Especially in his etchings are such subjects brought out; and many of his most finished prints illustrated this disagreeable phase of life. The mendicants of the Germanic races are but ill adapted for the glorification of art or poetry.

Rembrandt loved the reality of nature, but he was no realist in art; rather a pure and passionate lover of idealism, showing forth his ever-young imagination in the unusual departments of color and chiaroscuro. The usual test of the ideal in art is in designing, the assumed aristocratic quality in the work of the painter; and herein it has been said that the master is defective and ignoble. But Vosmaer, his faithful and loving champion, sets over against this charge the superlative sentence, "The design of Rembrandt is as incontestable as the coloring of Raphael." Sure of hand, vigorous in observation, simple in expression, free in touch, he was indeed master of form, though not of the sculpturesque.

With Rembrandt, coloring was always subordinated to chiaroscuro, the changeable effects of light and shade, and the permanent differences between brightness and darkness. He is the most skilful of all who have studied this manner of work, and displayed therein unequalled grace, vigor, power, and address. In his compositions, the strong light falls on the chief action, and in his portraits on the faces of the subjects. To this command of luminous effects, he joined the ability of forming trans-

parent shadows and concentrated lights; a soft blending, or, as the French would say, a marriage of tints; and a sweet and strong harmony of intermediaries. The belief was at one time entertained, that Rembrandt prepared his canvases with gold-leaf, so rich and luminous were his colors, so full of warmth and power.

The early Italians, like Fra Angelico, seemed to have found only clear light and unrelieved splendor in their landscapes. But the sturdy and gloomy republican who painted under the gray sea-skies of the north threw a profound shadow over his noblest works, broken only by phantasmagoric gleams of intense brilliancy. Though the north wind drove the heavy mists through the streets of Amsterdam, and the long winter overhung the ice-bound canals with curtains of snow-clouds; still, in all his portrayals of men and nature, he threw the same flashes of rich illumination, as if he held Horace's words as a motto: —

"*Quæ*
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit."

The Dutch poets of the seventeenth century, who twisted their rugged language daily into stan-

zas which aped those of the Latins in the Augustan age, were for the most part silent with regard to Rembrandt, although they often honored his lesser brethren in honeyed numbers. Jan Vos indeed alluded to certain of his works; and Jeremias de Decker, after the master had painted his portrait gratuitously, sung that "He has carried his master-glory as far as the ships of free Holland are wafted; and it has flown across the Alps, and thrown Italy into raptures, holding itself alongside of Raphael and Angelo." But Vondel, the great head of Dutch poetry, though flowery and flattering in his eulogies of many other artists, is cold and silent before this one. The reason might have been, that the master never painted his portrait without charge, for the five artists who were sagacious enough to pay this tribute were elevated to the summit of Vondel's Walhalla. Moreover, the poet was no judge of art, save in its literary aspect, and preferred conventional forms and classic traditions, whereof Rembrandt was no exponent. In his ardent praise of the master's rivals and their methods, he even attacks the manner of the great realist, in denouncing his "factitious shadows."

Pels, the cold and correct academic poet, em-

bodied the opinion of the Dutch coterie in the following sentences: "You deceive yourselves, you who wish to leave the well-worn paths, who wish, in your despair, to seek a more perilous way, and, pleased with passing praise, to follow that great Rembrandt, who, seeing that he could not equal Titian, Van Dyck, nor Michael Angelo, preferred to wander in a glittering mannerism, to be the first heretic in art, and to lose many novices in his snares, — rather than to strengthen himself in following those who were endowed by experience, and to submit his celebrated pencil to rules. He it was who, yielding to none in his grouping or the power of coloring, when he wished to paint a nude woman, chose not the Greek Venus for a model, but some washerwoman or gross farm-maid, naming his fault 'the imitation of nature,' and holding all else as vain ornaments."

Joachim Sandrart, the eminent German art-writer, lived at Amsterdam from 1637 to 1642, and wrote as follows: "It is astonishing that the eminent Rembrandt van Ryn, though born in the country, and of a father who was a miller, was so excellently endowed by nature, that, by his assiduous zeal and deep innate inclination, he attained a lofty position

in art. . . . By his natural talent, indefatigable zeal, and constant study, he lacked nothing except the knowledge of the antique, and of the theory of art, which are obtained in Italy and elsewhere." The critic then goes on at great length to deplore Rembrandt's scorn of academic rules and the Raphaelesque canons of art, while praising his intense naturalism, perfect harmony, and zealous industry. He says that the master's pupils paid him annually one hundred florins each, besides the large sums which he derived from selling their works.

Philip Angel, a contemporary artist and author of Haarlem, praised the deep and careful studies of Rembrandt, and his researches in history, whose results appeared in his paintings. Hoogstraten alternately praised and blamed his works, as he touched on their varying peculiarities. Houbraken noticed the master's style unfavorably, as a mere passing fashion, much as the modern critics speak of Gustave Doré, and for similar reasons.

Lairesse, a famous doctor of art early in the eighteenth century, credited Rembrandt with a vigorous coloring, equal to Titian's, but reproached him with heresy in all other departments of art. So far had the denunciations of the critics affected

the laity, that, at this time, an authentic portrait painted by the master sold for six cents, though but a few years later it was valued at several hundreds of florins. The people demanded that their pictures should be bright and pretty, and cared for no higher traits. Still, beyond the narrow Dutch provinces, a wider appreciation was felt; and Rembrandt's paintings were sold at high prices in France and Italy.

Fuseli, the idealistic but acrimonious Swiss-English critic, cried out, in exaggerated bitterness, "The female forms of Rembrandt are prodigies of deformity; his males are the products of shuffling industry and sedentary toil." Sir Edmund Head acknowledges the truth of these charges in the following bit of singular nonsense: "The artist's power is best felt by considering what grandeur, and even sublimity, is often concentrated within a few square inches of copper or canvas, in spite of the debased nature of the materials which are worked up into such a wondrous whole. We may fairly suppose that Rembrandt cultivated ugliness in his forms, in order to show what obstacles he could overcome." What an extraordinary motive to attribute to a laborious and conscientious artist!

Fuseli calls Rembrandt "a meteor in art." Fiorillo says that, beside his pictures, all others seem like mere geographical charts. When Planche named the artists of the first rank, he inscribed the names of Leonardo, Raphael, Angelo, Correggio, Titian, Rubens, and Rembrandt.

Rembrandt was in no sense a man of the world; and he preferred the society of ordinary citizens to the fickle patronage of the great. Houbraken says that in his riper years he was intimate with people of the *bourgeois* class and those who practised art. The former term at that time implied persons who were not nobles, magistrates, nor office-holders, — the great middle class of merchants and artisans, which forms the strength of every Christian nation. The master himself said, "When I desire to rest my spirit, I do not seek honors, but liberty." Sandrart says that, if Rembrandt had known how to manage better, he would have advanced himself greatly; "because, though he was not a dissipator, he nevertheless knew not how to preserve his position, and always associated with simple and *bourgeois* persons."

In respect to civic or official honors, Rembrandt was indeed a prophet without honor in his own

country. When Maria de' Medici and other noble queens and princes visited the city, other artists were chosen to perpetuate the scenes and to execute the decorations. The master was also ignored when the pictures commemorative of the Peace of Westphalia were painted; and also in the adornment of the new City Hall, "the eighth wonder of the world."

Descamps states that Rembrandt was full of irregularities and odd eccentricities, for which no reason can be imagined. He would often finish the unimportant accessories of a picture with minutest care, and dash off the most conspicuous parts with a few strokes of his brush, assuring his dissatisfied patrons that "a picture is finished when the author thereof has fulfilled the purpose with which he began it." One day he was making a portrait-group of a notable family, when he was informed that his favorite monkey had died. The grieving artist caused the body to be brought to the studio, and made its portrait on the same canvas on which he was engaged. The family aforesaid was naturally incensed at such an interpolation, and demanded that it should be effaced; but Rembrandt preferred to keep the whole work himself, and let his patrons seek a more accommodating artist.

Descamps arraigns the master for avarice, preferring the following charges: that he made his son peddle out his prints; that he was accustomed to bid on his own pictures at the auctions, in order to augment their price; that he printed his engravings from half-finished plates, then a second time from the completed plates, and again from the same slightly modified, thus reaping three harvests from one sowing. The same author says that he knew his own weakness, and meekly bore with badinage upon it, as when certain of his scholars painted bits of round cards in the similitude of money, which the master eagerly picked up from the floor when he entered.

The detractors of Rembrandt (and there have been many) generally charge him with this trait of avarice; but the speedy dissipation of his noble fortune for mere *bric-à-brac* proved the conspicuous absence of miserly traits. In other acts of his life the same free and uncalculating generosity appears, — in his correspondence with Huygens, his liberality towards the distressed members of his family at Leyden, and the numerous portraits which he executed with great care, and then gave as presents to their subjects, his friends. He was accustomed to

loan the costumes and other properties of his museum to poorer painters who needed to use them; and he furnished designs to them in unstinted abundance. His hospitality was open and free, as poor Brouwer found when he was a fugitive in Amsterdam.

Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné" contains a list of 620 paintings by Rembrandt, of which 59 are from Old-Testament subjects, 71 from the New Testament, 12 from the lives of the saints, 51 *genre* themes, 11 historical and mythological compositions, 43 portraits of himself, 247 portraits of men, 106 portraits of women, and 20 landscapes. To these may be added many hundreds of drawings and sketches, still preserved in European collections, and held at a high pecuniary value. The master also executed 365 etchings, with 237 variations besides; and many others there are which reputable critics attribute to his hand. The man who could execute such an enormous mass of noble work, not in a Titian-life of nearly a century, but in little more than thirty years, was certainly possessed of an astounding power of invention and an unparalleled industry.

A LIST OF

REMBRANDT VAN RYN'S CHIEF PAINTINGS

NOW IN EXISTENCE, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *Interrogation-marks are affixed to the titles of certain paintings which two or more critics regard as of doubtful authenticity.*

HOLLAND.

THE HAGUE. — *Royal Museum*, — Simeon in the Temple, 1631; Susanna at the Bath, 1631; A Young Man, 1630; The School of Anatomy, 1632; A Young Officer (his own portrait), 1634. *Private Collections*, — A Rabbi, 1631; An Officer, 1632; Vanitas, 1635; Bathsheba at the Bath, 1643; Rembrandt, 1643.

AMSTERDAM. — *Trippenhuis Museum*, — The Company of Frans Banning Cock ('The Night Watch'), 1642; The Syndics of the Cloth-Makers' Guild, 1661. *Van der Hoop Museum*, — The Jewish Bride, 1657. *The Six van Hillegom Collection*, — Portrait of Jan Six, 1656; Jan Six's Mother, 1641; Ephraim Bonus, 1647; Joseph Telling his Dream,

1638. *In a Private Collection,* — An Old Man, 1652. *The late Van-Loon Collection* (now owned by the Rothschilds), — Portrait of Martin Day, 1634; Madame Day, 1643.

ROTTERDAM. — *Boyman's Museum,* — The Peace of the Land, 1648. *Private Collections,* — Portrait of Maurice Huygens, 1632; A Man, 1632. DORDRECHT, — Dr. Heynsius, 1643. HOLWERD (in Friesland), — Portrait of an Old Woman, 1644.

BELGIUM.

ANTWERP. — *Museum,* — Portrait of Saskia, 1642; two Female Portraits (?). BRUSSELS. — *National Museum,* — Portrait of a Man, 1641.

DENMARK.

CHRISTIANSBORG PALACE, — Christ on the Way to Emmaus, 1648; A Hermit in Prayer (?), 1637; two Portraits.

GERMANY.

BERLIN. — *Museum,* — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1634; The Same, 1634; Samson Menacing his Father-in-Law (or the Duke of Guelders Threatening his Father), 1635; Tobias and his Wife, 1635; St. Jerome, 1630; Philo the Jew, 1630; The Rape of Proserpine, 1632; The Repose during the Flight into Egypt, 1635; Landscape, with Ruth and Boaz, 1641; A Lady, 1642; Joseph and Mary, 1645; A Rabbi, 1645; Moses Descending from Mount Sinai, 1659; Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, 1659.

CASSEL. — *Museum Fridericianum,* — Four Portraits of Old Men, 1630; Portrait of Van Coppenol, 1632; Saskia Ulenburgh, 1633; A Young Man, 1633; The Poet Krul,

1634; Portrait, 1634; An Old Man, 1635; Samson Blinded by the Philistines, 1635; A Winter Landscape, 1635; Portrait, 1639; Holy Family, 1640; A Young Lady, 1642; Mountainous Landscape, 1643–50; A Man in Armor, 1655; A Standard-Bearer, 1655; Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, 1656; An Old Man, 1656; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1657; Nicholas Bruyninck, 1657.

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN. — *Städel Institute*, — Portrait of a Lady, 1633; A Young Woman, 1635; Rembrandt, 1635; The Lord of the Vineyard, 1656.

BRUNSWICK. — *Museum*, — Portrait of Hugo Grotius, 1631; A Lady, 1633; A Young Student, 1645; A Warrior, 1654; Landscape, 1650–56; A Group of Family Portraits, 1657; The Entombment; A Philosopher; Christ in Gethsemane. MADGEBOURG, — Ecce Homo (?), 1666. OLDENBURG. — *Augusteum*, — A Landscape and three Portraits.

MUNICH. — *The Pinakothek*, — The Elevation of the Cross, 1633; The Descent from the Cross, 1633; The Ascension of Christ, 1635; The Deposition in the Tomb, 1639; The Resurrection, 1639; Govaert Flinck, 1642; A Lady, 1642; The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1659; Autumn Landscape; Abraham and Hagar; Christ Teaching in the Temple. NUREMBERG, — A Portrait.

DRESDEN. — *Museum*, — Portrait of a Man, 1633; Saskia Ulenburgh, 1633; The Rape of Ganymede, 1635; The Nuptials of Samson, 1638; Rembrandt with his Wife on his Knee, 1638; The Deposition in the Tomb, 1639; A Hunter and Pheasant, 1639; The Angel Leaving Manoah

and his Wife, 1641; Portrait of Saskia, 1641; An Old Woman Weighing Coins, 1643; A Young Man, 1643; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1647; Mountainous Landscape, 1643-50; An Old Man, 1654; A Rabbi, 1654; Portrait of Rembrandt 1657.

LEIPSIC. — *Museum*, — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1656 CARLSRUHE. — *Hall of Art*, — Portrait of Rembrandt. MANNHEIM. — *Gallery*, — Christ before Pilate. STUTTGART. — *Museum of Art*, — St. Paul in Prison, 1627. GOTHA. — *Friedenstein Palace*, — A Young Man, 1633; A Portrait (?). DARMSTADT, — Portrait of Saskia, 1649; Christ Seized by the Soldiers, 1658. There are also one or two of the minor works of Rembrandt at Stolzenfels Castle on the Rhine.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA. — *The Belvedere*, — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1657; St. Paul, 1635; Rembrandt's Mother; A Rich Dutchman; A Young Man; Rembrandt at 45; Rembrandt in Old Age. *Academy of Art*, — A Dutch Maiden. *Liechtenstein Palace*, — Diana and Endymion; Rembrandt when Young; Rembrandt when Old; A Calm Sea. *Schönborn Palace*, — The Blinding of Samson; The Descent from the Cross; Hagar and the Angel. *Czernin Palace*, — Rembrandt's Mother; The Family of Rembrandt. *Harrach Palace*, — The Countess of Nivernois, 1642.

PEST. — *Academy*, — Christ before Pilate; A Young Lady with a Fan; A Young Lady with Gloves; A Man. PRAGUE. — *Nostitz Palace*, — A Councillor. INNSPRUCK, — Philo the Jew, 1630.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *The Hermitage Palace,* — An Officer in Armor, 1631; A Young Man, 1633; The Incredulity of St. Thomas, 1634; The Descent from the Cross, 1634; Abraham about to Sacrifice Isaac, 1635; The Jewish Bride, 1635; The Lord of the Vineyard, 1637; Portrait of a Man, 1637; An Old Woman, 1643; The Holy Family, 1645; Abraham Receiving the Three Angels, 1646; Samuel Instructed by Hannah, 1650; Portrait of a Young Woman, 1656; Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, 1657; Portrait of a Man, 1661; The Same, 1666; Thomas Parr; Rembrandt's Mother; St. Peter Denying Christ; Portrait of a General; Danaë; Marine View; Landscape; and four minor Portraits.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Leuchtenberg Gallery,* — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1648. *Prince Youssoupoff,* — Susanna and the Elders, 1633. *Prince Lobanoff,* — Portrait of Thomas Parr.

MOSCOW. — *Museum,* — The Decapitation of St. John the Baptist. PETERHOFF PALACE, — The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau, 1642.

FRANCE.

PARIS. — *The Louvre,* — A Philosopher in Meditation, 1633; The Same, 1633; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1633; The Same, 1637; The Same, 1660; The Same; A Man, 1634; An Old Man, 1638; A Man, 1652; A Woman, 1654; A Man, 1659; An Interior, 1655; An Abattoir; Venus and Cupid; St. Matthew, 1661; The Holy Family, 1640; The Good Samaritan, 1648; The Pilgrims to Emmaus, 1648;

Bathsheba at the Bath, 1654; Susanna at the Bath, 1641; The Angel Raphael Leaving Tobias, 1637.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS. — *De Saulcy*, — Head of Christ, 1656. *André*, — Dr. Arnoldus Tholinx. *Rothschild*, — A Standard-Bearer, 1655. *Schneider*, — Rev. Mr. Ellison, 1634; Mrs. Ellison, 1634. *Augniot*, — An Old Man, 1635. *Bürger*, — Landscape, 1650. *Pereire*, — J. C. Sylvius, 1650. *Narishkine*, — Old Woman, 1640. *De Morny*, — The Gilder, 1640.

ITALY.

ROME. — *Doria Palace*, — A Fawn. *Corsini Palace*, — An Old Woman.

FLORENCE. — *Uffizi Gallery*, — An Interior; A Landscape (?); Portrait of Rembrandt. *Pitti Palace*, — Portrait of Rembrandt; An Old Man, 1661.

NAPLES. — *Fondi Palace*, — Portrait of Rembrandt. *Museum*, — A Portrait.

MILAN. — *Brera Gallery*, — Portrait of a Lady.

SPAIN.

MADRID. — *Museum*, — Queen Artemisia.

ENGLAND.

LONDON. — *National Gallery*, — Descent from the Cross, 1633; An Old Woman, 1634; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1640; Sketch for 'The Company of Banning Cock,' 1642; Christ and the Adulteress, 1644; The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1646; Christ Blessing Little Children, 165 ; The Bather, 1654; An Old Man, 1658; A Jewish Rabbi, 1659; A Woman, 1666; Tobit and the Angel; A Capuchin. *Grosve-*

nor House, — Claes Berchem, 1647; Mrs. Berchem, 1647; The Visitation, 1640; A Man with a Falcon, 1643; His Wife, 1643; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1630. *Bridgewater Gallery*, — Portrait of a Lady, 1632; A Burgomaster, 1637; The Prophetess Anna, 1650; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1659. *Buckingham Palace*, — The Ship-Builder and his Wife, 1633; Portrait of Rembrandt, 1637; Christ as a Gardener, 1638; A Lady with a Fan, 1641; The Burgomaster Pancras and his Wife, 1645; The Adoration of the Magi, 1657. *Hope Collection*, — The Bark of St. Peter, 1633; A Young Lady; A Landscape; A Man and Woman, 1633; The Tribute-Money, 1645; Admiral van Tromp, 1651.

MINOR COLLECTIONS. — *Seguin*, — The Jewish Bride, 1632. *Bagot*, — The Elevation of the Cross, 1633. *Earl Derby*, — Joseph's Brethren Showing his Bloody Coat, 1639. *Wombwell*, — The Angel Leaving Tobias, 1637; Lucretia, 1666; A Portrait. *Eardley*, — Portrait, 1667. *Holford*, — Three Portraits. *Norton*, — A Young Woman, 1644; St. John the Baptist Preaching, 1656. *Earl Brownlow*, — Male Portrait, 1653. *Lady Mildmay*, — A Young Girl, 1650. *Baring*, — Adoration of the Magi, 1657. *Overstone*, — An Old Woman, 1660. *Munro*, — Death of Lucretia, 1664; Rembrandt when Old. *Bedford*, — Rembrandt, 1640; A Girl; A Rabbi. *Abercorn*, — Descent from the Cross, 1640.

Marquis of Hertford's Collection, — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1643; Man and Boy; Two Ladies; A Landscape; A Negro. *Bath House*, — Portrait of Coppenol, 1650. *Lord Spencer*, — The Circumcision, 1661; Rembrandt's Mother. *Northwick*, — Angel and Tobit; three Portraits. *Petworth*

Castle, — The Earl of Northumberland; Young Rembrandt. *Blenheim*, — Christ and the Adulteress. *Stourhead House*, — Elijah Reviving the Widow's Daughter; Gypsies at Moonlight. *Sir Anthony Rothschild*, — Nurse and Children; Rembrandt when Old. *James Gray*, — A Rabbi. *Lady Dover*, — Burgomaster Six. *Higginson*, — Catherine Hoogh. *Lord Carlisle*, — Two Portraits. *Lowther Castle*, Blind Belisarius. *Doddington Park*, — Simeon, Anna, and Christ.

WINDSOR, — A Young Man, 1631; Rembrandt, 1642. CAMBRIDGE. — *Fitz William Museum*, — An Officer, 1635. BOWOOD (Marquis of Lansdowne), — A Young Woman, 1642; Rembrandt's Mill; two Landscapes; Rembrandt, 1660. PANSHANGER (Earl Cowper), — A Young Man, 1644; Marshal Turenne, 1649. BELVOIR (Duke of Rutland), — A Young Man. BURLEIGH (Marquis of Exeter), — A Portrait. TEMPLE NEWSAM, — Christ at Emmaus; Rembrandt when Old. DULWICH, — A Young Woman, 1645; A Portrait; Jacob's Dream (?); Wouverman (?). HAMPTON-COURT PALACE, – Female Portrait; Male Portrait (?)

SCOTLAND.

HOPETOUN HOUSE, — Rembrandt's Grandmother, 1636; DALKEITH PALACE (Duke of Buccleuch), — A Lady (probably Saskia), 1635. GLASGOW. — *University*, — The Entombment. EDINBURGH. — *Royal Institution*, — A Wooded Landscape; A Hilly Landscape. *Hamilton Palace*, — The Duke of Guelders Threatening his Father; A Young Woman.

FORMER COLLECTIONS (pictures not now assignable to their locations). — *Sir R. Peel*, — Moses Saved from the Waters, 1632; A Landscape; A Portrait. *Wynn Ellis*, — A Man and Woman (two portraits), 1632-33. *Emmerson*, — A Gentleman, 1641; A Lady, 1639. *Ashburnham*, — Anslo and his Mother, 1641. *Samuel Rogers*, — An Allegory; A Landscape; Rembrandt in his Old Age. *Neeld*, — Portrait of Rembrandt; Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. *Colborne*, — An Old Man. *Ashburton*, — Jansenius; Coppenol; Rembrandt; two Portraits. *Saltmarsh*, — Catherine Hoogh, 1657. *Carrington*, — Portrait of Rembrandt, 1659. *Eastlake*, — An Old Woman. *Sellières*, — St. Anastasius, 1632; Matthys Kalkoen, 1632; Mrs. Tulp, 1634; Dr. Tulp, 1634; Portrait of Six, 1643; An Admiral, 1643; A Lady, 1643. *Pourtalès*, — A Young Man, 1633; A Philosopher, 1660. *Van Cleef*, — A Man, 1632. *Roëhn*, — A Young Girl, 1632. *Stevens*, — A Girl, 1632. *Schönborn Gallery*, — An Old Woman, 1631; The Witch of Endor, 1640. *Weyer Gallery* (Cologne), — Two Women. *Fesch Gallery*, — Martin Looten, 1632; A Woman, 1633; Mary and the Child Jesus, 1638; Madame Sylvius, 1644.

A LIST OF REMBRANDT'S ETCHINGS.

Portraits. — Thirty-three Portraits of himself, at various ages and in different costumes; Van der Linden; Sylvius, 1633; Manasseh Ben-Israel, 1636; Faustus; Anslo, 1641; Clement de Jonghe, 1642; Abraham Francen; Hareng the

Elder; Hareng the Younger, 1655; Lutma the Younger, 1656; Asselyn; Ephraim Bonus, 1647; Uyttenboogaert, 1635; Sylvius; Uyttenboogaert, 1639; Coppenol; The Same, repeated; Tolling; Jan Six, 1647; and 56 other portraits of men, mostly fancy sketches, old men, Asiatics, etc.; The Great Jewish Bride; Study for the preceding; The Little Jewish Bride; Rembrandt's Mother, 1631; and 19 other female portraits, including several which probably represent Saskia.

Biblical Subjects. — Adam and Eve, 1638; Abraham and the Angels, 1656; Abraham about to Sacrifice Isaac, 1655; Abraham Sending away Hagar, 1637; Abraham Caressing Isaac; Abraham and Isaac, 1645; Jacob's Dream, 1655; David and Goliath, 1655; Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, 1655; The Vision of Ezekiel, 1655; Joseph Telling his Dream, 1638; Jacob Lamenting Joseph's Disappearance; Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, 1634; The Triumph of Mordecai; David at Prayer, 1652; Blind Tobit and his Dog, 1651; The Angel Leaving Tobit, 1641; The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds of Bethlehem, 1634; The Nativity; The Adoration of the Shepherds; The Circumcision, 1654; The Same in different form; The Presentation in the Temple; The Same varied, 1630; The Flight into Egypt, 1633; The Same varied and differently arranged in four other prints; three different versions of The Repose during the Flight into Egypt; The Return from Egypt, 1654; The Virgin and the Infant Jesus, 1641; The Holy Family; The Holy Family, 1654; Jesus Amidst the Doctors, 1652; The Same differently treated in two diverse etchings of 1632 and 1654;

Christ Preaching to the People; The Tribute-Money Christ Driving out the Money-Changers, 1635; Christ and the Woman of Samaria, 1634; in another variation, 1658 The Great Resurrection of Lazarus; The Little Resurrection of Lazarus, 1642; Christ Healing the Sick ("The Hundred Guilders' Print"); Christ in the Garden, 165–; Christ before the People, 1655; The Crucifixion ("The Three Crosses"), 1653; Ecce Homo, 1636; The Descent from the Cross, 1633; Christ on the Cross, two later variations; The Descent from the Cross, 1642; The Descent from the Cross (at night), 1654; The Entombment; The Weeping Virgin; Christ in the Tomb; Christ at Emmaus, 1654; The Same, 1634; The Incredulity of St. Thomas, 1650; The Good Samaritan, 1633; The Return of the Prodigal Son, 1636; The Decapitation of St. John, 1640; Sts. Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate, 1659; the same theme varied; St. Peter on his Knees, 1645; The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, 1635; The Baptism of the Eunuch, 1641; The Death of the Virgin, 1639.

The Later Saints. — St. Jerome at the Foot of a Tree, 1634; St. Jerome Praying, 1632; St. Jerome and his Lion, 1634; St. Jerome Writing, 1648; St. Jerome Reading; St. Jerome Seated, 1642; St. Jerome before a Skull; St. Francis Praying, 1657.

Historical, Allegorical, and Fancy Subjects. — A Youth Surprised by Death, 1639; An Allegory, 1659; Fortune Reversed, 1633; The Marriage of Jason and Creusa, 1648; The Star of the Kings; A Lion-Hunt, 1641; two variations of the preceding; A Battle; three Oriental Figures, 1641;

The Blind Bag-Piper; The Spanish Gipsy; The Rat-Killer, 1632; The Same varied; The Goldsmith; The Pancake Woman, 1635; The Game of Kolf, 1654; The Jews' Synagogue, 1648; The Schoolmaster, 1641; The Mountebank, 1635; The Draughtsman; A Peasant and his Family; A High-Capped Jew, 1639; The Onion Woman, 1631; A Peasant with his Hands behind Him, 1631; The Card-Players, 1641; The Blind Fiddler, 1631; A Man on Horseback; three etchings of a Polander in various attitudes; An Old Man; Two Peasants; five etchings of Old Men in different positions; The Blind Jew; Two Venetians; A Doctor and his Patient; The Skater; A Hog with his Legs Tied, 1643; A Little Dog Sleeping; A Shell, 1650.

Beggars. — A Beggar Seated; Beggar and Wife; Beggar Standing, with Staff; Beggar and Stick; Beggars Conversing, 1630; Beggars by a Bankside; Beggar, in Callot's manner; Beggar in a Slashed Cloak, 1631; Beggar Woman; Beggar with a Fur Cap; Beggar-Woman Asking Alms, 1646; The Dumb Beggar, 1631; Wooden-Legged Beggar; Beggar Sitting by a Wall; Beggar Sitting on a Bank, 1630; Sitting Beggar with Dog, 1651; Three Beggars, 1648; Beggar with Hand in Bosom, 1634; Beggar with Hands Behind; Wooden-Legged Beggar; Peasant with Basket; Peasant-Woman with Bottle; A Beggar; Beggar Man and Woman Walking; Beggar Wrapped in Mantle; Sick Beggar.

Free Subjects and Academical Figures. — The French Bed, 1646; Monk among the Corn; Flute-Player and Shepherdess, 1642; Old Man Sleeping and a Couple Caressing; A Pot-Bellied Man, 1630; Woman under a Tree, 1631;

Painter Drawing from a Model; Naked Man Seated, 1646; Academical Figures of Men; The Bathers, 1631; Man Sitting for a Model, 1646; Woman Sitting by a Dutch Stove; Naked Woman on a Bank; Woman at the Bath, 1658; Naked Woman with Feet in the Water, 1658; Venus in the Bath; Naked Woman Sitting on a Bed, 1661; Antiope and Jupiter, 1659; Woman Sleeping on a Couch; Negress on a Couch, 1658.

Landscapes. — Landscape with Cow; Landscape with Tree and House; Six's Bridge, 1645; View of Omval, 1645; View of Amsterdam; Landscape, with Huntsman and Dogs; "The Three Trees," 1643; Landscape and Man with Pails; Canal and Cottages; Coach on a Road; Landscape and Terrace; Landscape and Village, 1650; The Village of Randorf, with Square Tower, 1650; Landscape and Artist, Landscape and Pond, 1644; Canal and Cottages; A Forest-Scene, 1652; An Old Tower rising over Houses; Shepherd and Sheep in a Landscape, 1636; Cottage and Barn, 1641; Canal-Scene, 1641; Landscape with Obelisk and Village; Landscape with Canal and Ship; Landscape with Trees by Roadside; Landscape with Alley of Trees; Landscape with Lake, 1645; Landscape with Cottage; The so-called "Mill of Rembrandt," 1641; The Gold-Weigher's Field, 1651; Landscape with Canal and Swans, 1650; Canal and Boat, 1650; Canal and Cow; Village and Square Tower, 1653; Landscape and River; Landscape and two Windmills; Upright Landscape; Farm-Scene; River and two Sail-Boats; Canal and Angler; Cottages and Canal; Landscape, House, River, and Boat; Canal, Cottage, and Tree,

1659; Cottage and Barn filled with Hay; Landscape with Canal; Landscape, House, and Hovels; Landscape, and Peasant Drawing Water; Castle; Landscape with Trees; Village Scene; Six Thatched Cottages, 1659; Landscape with Canal.

Studies of Heads and Other Objects. — Head of Rembrandt; Horse and two Heads; Rembrandt's Wife and five other Heads, 1636; Five Heads of Men; Three Heads of Women; Three other Heads of Women, 1637; Two Women in Beds; Head of Rembrandt, 1651; A Dog; A Tree; Two Figures; Three Heads of Old Men; A Female Head in a Mob-Cap.

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